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ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS,

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

RELIGION,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT,

AND THE EMERGENCIES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

UNDER

KING HENRY VIII. KING EDWARD VI.

AND

QUEEN MARY I.

WITH

LARGE APPENDIXES, CONTAINING ORIGINAL PAPERS,
RECORDS, &c.

> One generation shall praise thy works unto another, and declare thy power ---The memorial of thine abundant kindness shall be shewed; and men shall sing of thy righteousness.
>
> *Psalm* cxlv. 4, 7.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

VOL. I. PART II.

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
MDCCCXXII.

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APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

RECORDS, LETTERS,

AND OTHER

ORIGINAL WRITINGS,

REFERRED TO IN

THE MEMORIALS

UNDER THE REIGN OF

KING HENRY VIII.

AN
APPENDIX
TO THE
MEMORIALS ECCLESIASTICAL,
UNDER THE REIGN OF
KING HENRY VIII.

Number I.

King Henry's letter to Sir David Owen, to provide an hundred men to go into France with him, in behalf of the Pope against the French King.

By the King.

HENRY R.

TRUSTIE and welbeloved, wee grete you wel. And wheras wee, according to our dutie to God and to his Church, at the instant requests and desires of the Popes Holines, and other Christen Princes, our confederates and allies, have for the defence of the said Church, being by our enemy the French Kinge oppressed, and the extincting of the detestable schisme raised by certain perverse Cardinalls, and maintained by the same King, entred actual war against him; entending, God willing, by the aid and assistance of such of our confederates and allies as shal joyn with us in that Gods quarrel, to pursue and continue the said wars, and personally to proceed into France with an army royal this next summer, as wel for that our purpose, as for recovering our right there: wee signifie unto you, MSS. D. G. H. Eq.

that for our better assistance in that behalf, wee have appoynted you, among others, to pass over with us in this journey and voyage, with the number of a hundred able men, mete for the warrs, to be by you provided. Wherof threescore to bee archers, and forty bills on foot, sufficiently
4 harnessed and appointed for the warrs. Willing and desiring you therefore not onely to prepare your self for that purpose, but also with al spedie diligence to put the said number of men in convenient readines accordinglie: and to ascertaine us thereof by your writing on this side the beginning of April next coming at the farthest: and at the same season to send unto us some discrete servant of yours, to receyve mony for jackets, and conducting of the said number. To the entent that yee, with the said number, may be ready to set forward towards us, at any time after, when wee by our writing shal require you so to do. And these our letters, signed and sealed with our own hand and signet, shall be as sufficient warrant and discharge unto you in that behalf, as though the same had passed under our Great Seal of England; any act, statute, or ordinance, heretofore made to the contrary concerning retainors notwithstanding. Faile ye not to accomplish the premises, as ye tender the honour and suretie of us, and of this our realme, and the advauncement and furtheraunce of this *meritorious voyage.* Yeven under our signet at our mannor of Greenwiche, 22. Feb. anno Reg. 4.

Number II.

King Henry to his Ambassador in Flanders, in behalf of Thomas Barnaby, merchant.

To our trusty and right welbeloved Counsailer, Dr. Knight, our Ambassador in the parties of Flaundres.

By the King.

HENRY R.

MSS. G. H. Eq. TRUSTY and right welbiloved we grete you well. And albeit that we, by our letters patents of save conduyte under our Great Seale, have licenced and auctorised our wel-

biloved subgiet, Thomas Barnaby, of our citie of London, merchaunte, that he by himself, his servants, factors, or atturneys, denyzens, or straungiers, shal use and occupie the feate and entrecourse of al maner merchaundize, in al places, and at al seasons, during the terme of yeres in our said letters conteigned; yet that notwithstanding, it is shewed unto us on the behalf of our said subgiet, that our right dere and right entirely welbiloved cousine, the Duchesse of Savoye, hath caused certain proclamations to be made of late, that noe baye-salt, or wine, of the growing of the parties of Fraunce, Normandy, Bretayne, or Gascoigne, being of the commodities of our auncient enemie, the Frenshe King, shalbe brought or conveyede into the parties of Flaundres, or elsewher under her dominion, upon payne of forfaiture of the same, as we be enformed: we tenderly mynding and willing the said Thomas Barnaby, to enjoy the whole effect of our said letters of save conduyte to hym in this partie graunted, wol and desire you in such substantial and discrete wise, to solicite our said cousine that she wolbe contented to graunte unto the same Thomas his letters patents of save conduyte, under hir Grete Seale, in 5
as large and ample manner as is specified in our said letters of saveconduyte. And for the more and better knowleage herof, we send unto you, at this time, our trusty and welbiloved servant Sir John Wallop, Knight, with other our letters directed unto our said cousine; whome we desire you tenderly and diligently to favor in the spedy expedition and furtheraunce of this cause. Wherby ye shal minister unto us ful good pleasure. Yeven under our signet at our monastery of Chartesaye the xiith daye of August.

Number III.

King Henry to his Ambassadors with the Prince of Castile, for satisfaction to be demanded for staying of a merchant-man, put in by stress of weather to Zealand.

To our trusty and right welbiloved Counsailors, and Knight for our body, Sir Edward Ponyngs, Comptroller of our Household, and Maister William Knight, our Ambassadors with our cousin the Prince of Castile.

HENRY R. *By the King.*

MSS. G. H. Eq.

TRUSTY and right welbiloved, we grete you wel; lating you wit, it is comen to our knowledge, that where as a ship lately to us belonging, called the Cast, laden by our welbiloved subgietts, John Alen, Hugh Clopton, and Richard Fermour, and others, with wolles, cloth, and othre merchaundises and commodities of this our reame, being in her voyage towards the parties of Italye, was by excessive rage and storme of weder, aftre many daungiers and perillis, in avoyding her extreme ruyn, driven by violence and force into the parties of Zeland, taking for her refuge and socour the road and watier nere unto Armewe; a pretence and clayme was made in the name of our cousine, the Prince of Castille, of certain tolls, custums, and othre exactions, called the toll of Gravelyng and Zeland. Wherupon the officers of our said cousin caused not oonly the purser of the said shipp to be arrested in the town of Middylborowe, and committed unto prison, wher he remayned to his grete payne, hurte, and prejudice; but also with force of gonshot, in manner of warre, caused our said ship to be borded, and out of the same spoiled and toke al her sailles, and so deteigned, withhilde, and kept her from her voyage, til such tyme as our said subgietts were driven to put in sufficient suretie and caution to aunswer according to law. Which said detaigning not oonly put our said subgietts to grete and excessive costs and charges, and their tyme gretely hindred, to thair expresse wrongs, but also hath been the cause, that by the retardation of our said ship she now lately fell into the daungier and hands of the Mores and enfidels, enemys to Christs faith. Which infidels, having 6 certain foists and galeis appointed for the warres, have not oonly slayne diverse of our subgiets, the maryners and gonners of our said shipp, but also have taken hir, and al the said goodes and merchaundises, with the residue of the people being in her, whom they have and detaigne in prison and captivity. And in as moch as it is notory, that in caas the said retardation had not been, our said ship of al similitude had not happened into the said daungier, we do not impute the culp and blame therof in any person, but oonly in the officers of our said cousin. Which jacture, wrong, and prejudice, we cannot ne woll suffre to passe without sufficient reformation and amends. And considering that it is contrary to al law, right, and conscience, that any tolls, custumes, or othre impositions shuld be exacted of any person for any ship, goods, or merchaundises so forced and driven in by weders, specially where nothing is intended to be put to sale; and for that also the treaties of entercourse, which hath hertofore been made betwene us and our progenitors, and our said cousin and his progenitors, be expressely contrary hereunto; we therfore wol and command you, that shewing and extending this matier at good length to the commissioners of our said cousin, ye not oonly require restitution of such mony or bonds as have been made or payd in the name of our said subgietts for the said tolls, wherby they may be clerely recompensed and discharged of the same; but also, for the more aggravation of this matier, ye demande amends, as well for our said ship, and the goods and merchaundises, which, by meane of the said retardation, be now lost and taken, as is above said; as also of al other losses, dammages, and hindraunces, susteined by the same. Endevouring you with all effect to reduce and bring this matier to a good resolution, as our special trust is in you. Yeven undre our signet, at our manour of Greenwich, the xxii. day of July.

Number IV.

The constables of Tournay, being the Yeomen of the King's guard there, to Cardinal Wolsey and the Privy Council; certifying the great hardships and inconveniences they must undergo, if, according to a late order, their wages should be altered from quarterly to half-yearly payments.

Cott. Libr. Caligula.

WHEREAS it hath pleased your Grace to direct, &c. certifying your Grace and al the Lords of the Kings most honorable Council, that wee, yeomen of the Kings most honorable guard, his poor servants and daily orators, and yours, being constables here, whose names be subscribed everich of us in his behalf, hath examined his company according to his duty. And it is considered among us in general, that it would be great prejudice and hurt to the said garrison, if they should be paid according to the tenor of your Graces letters, for divers and many considerations.

7 First, it is to be considered, that the said garrison doth serve three months before they receive their wages. And incontinently at the receipt of the same, they pay for meat and drink, and for other things necessary, in the said three months had and obtained upon their credence. And what time they have paid al their duty, many a one have not a peny left to convey himself for the three months to come.

And besides and over that, many one is in debt to the sum of 10*s.* or 20*s.* some more, some less. This considered, it should be much more harder with us and with the said garrison, if we be put to the half years payment.

Also, it is to be considered, that there is many a poor man in the said garrison, as well single men as wedded men. And wheras it is so, that single men can wel convey themselves from three months, but to be in debt more or less: much more harder it is with wedded men, having here his wife and two or three or four children apiece, and some more and some less. And wheras men convey themselves by the space of three months, it should be much more harder to convey themselves by the space of half a year.

Also, tho it be so, that victualers, which be not able of themselves to victual twenty or thirty persons, but they should be greatly relieved out of the Kings coffers; yet other poor men that hath wife and children, and keepeth a poor house by himself, is not relieved, except he have his wages. For tho it be so, that men may have bread and beer upon their scores and tayles, yet shal not men have flesh, fish, butter, eggs, cheese, nor other things necessary, except they have ready mony. For the country victualeth the city for ready mony. For and if the country should withdraw for lack of payment, it would cause great scarceness to be among us, to the great hurt of the said garrison.

Also, it is to be considered, that we be not among our special friends, as the King's garrisons of Calais and elsewhere; but we be among our friends by compulsion. And in such friends is no great trust and fidelity; but smal faith or favour, without friendship or kindnes. For in the highest part of al France, we of the said garrison may have for our mony as much friendship as we may have in the said city of Tournay: which hath been oftentimes proved. For what time any of the said garrison hath not mony to convey themselves and their households, then taketh they a gage, and layeth the same to a townes man to pledge, for to have mony therupon. And if their gage or pledge be of the value of 20*s.* then he shal have therupon the said pledge or gage, 7*s.* or 8*s.* or therabouts. And if he fail of the day of payment, incontinently he leeseth his gage or pledg, of what valour soever it be. In which their so doing is no maner of frienship.

Also, it is to be considered, that the Kings most gracious coin is not accepted here and in England accordingly. For tho that it be so, that the garrison receive the Kings coin, as the pence after the rate of England, nevertheles what time that men shal buy victuals and other necessaries, the peny starling is but worth a Flemish peny. And thus in every threepence starling, there is one peny lost. And he that taketh 12*d.* by the day, his wages in buying any thing is but 8*d.* by the day. And he that taketh 8*d.* by the day is in like maner; his wages cometh to 5*d.* starling, and

8 Flemish halfpeny. And like maner in al other what wages soever they take. Which is great loss and dommage to the said garrison here: and shal continue by reason of the payment of the said pence. Except it shal please the Kings Highnes to command the said pence to be called home again into the realm of England, or else some other order and direction therin to be had and taken. And also that the Kings most noble coin of his gold, as his royal may have course for 10*s.* sterling; and his angel noble at 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling; and the crown at 4*s.* 2*d.* sterling. Wheras the said garrison receive them, as the royal, for 11*s.* sterling, the angel noble for 7*s.* 2*d.* starling, and the crown for 4*s.* 6*d.* starling. And thus appeareth the impovershing of the said garrison.

For it is to be considered, that the merchant will sel their wares and merchadize, and likewise victuals; strangers, their victuals, so that they take no loss by the said mony. Wheras al the English victualers bear the loss, and others of the said garrison.

Also, that where men lack mony, meat, and drink, with other necessaries which must needs be had: and that thing which a man may buy for 4*d.* starling of ready mony, if it be borrowed it shal cost 6*d.* or 7*d.* starling. Which should be great hindrance to poor men: and should be never able to recover it, if they should be paid by the half year, according to the tenor of your Graces letter.

Also, it is to be considered, that in the Kings garrison royal, as in Calais and elsewhere, no *maltot* is demaunded nor paid: wheras we of the Kings garrison of Tournay pay for every tun of wine 40*s.* sterling *maltot;* and for every barrel of beer 12*d.* sterling. Also, we pay for fish, for flesh, and for every other thing that is bought. Which amounteth to a great sum in the year; to the great hurt and dommage of the said garrison.

Also, it is to bee considered, that in the Kings garrison royal, as in Calais and elsewhere, is wel invironed; as the sea and England on the one side, and the marches of the same on the other side: which be to them great friends. By whom the said garrisons of Calais and elsewhere be oftentimes relieved. And they have more for a Flemish peny, than the garrison of Tournay hath for *2d.* sterling. Which commodities the Kings garrison of Tournay lacketh in every behalf. Also, there is in the Kings said garrison of Calais, divers merchants that do victual the said garrison for half year to half year; and with as easie price as men may buy for ready mony. Wheras we, the said garrison of Tournay, have no such friends, but the contrary. For when the said garison lacketh mony, then the said garrison lacketh victuals; as at this present is wel proved.

Humbly we beseech your Grace, with al the Lords of the Kings most honorable Council, that it may please your Grace, with al the Lords of the Kings most honourable Council, to be mean, and to inform the Kings Highness of these the premisses, and other, for the relief of the said garrison. And that it may please his Highness to have consideration and remors: to this before rehearsed, in considering the true and faithful service, that we his poor servants, yeomen of his most honorable guard, with al the whole retinue of the said garrison, have don unto his Highness heretofore, and hereafter intendeth to do: that it may please his abundant goodness, to look upon the said garrison
with the ey of pity and of consideration, for the eschueing 9
of the indempnity of the said premisses.

And that it may furthermore please his Highness to command, that provision of mony may be had to the deputy of this his city of Tournay, and Treasurer, to content and pay the garrison here accordingly, by the three months, as it hath been heretofore used.

And further, we humbly beseech your Grace, and al the said Lords of the Kings most honorable Council, your said daily orators, to have consideration of the said premisses: and for the information therof to the Kings Highness.

And furthermore, not to take displeasure with your said poor men and daily orators, for their rude writing unto your Grace; which lacketh as wel learning, as good counsil. But as they write unto your Grace after their natural witts, and as poverty and necessity constraineth them to write according to the truth; and further, for the preservation of the said garrison, and the welfare of the same.

And thus your said poor men and daily orators be ever bound to pray to God for your Grace, and for al the Lords of the Kings most honorable Council, that your Honors may long continue and endure.

John Prince.
Will. Bentall.
Rich. Forster.
Rob. Mitchel.
John Erdeley.
Tho. Gray.
Tho. Stribithil.
Will. Harford.
Rich. Dobell.
Evan Bodmer.
John Brodger.
Tho. Walett.
Rich. Stone.
Rob. Axe.

Number V.

Sir Richard Jernegan, Lord Deputy of Tournay, and the Council; their letter to the Cardinal, accompanying the former, written by the constables.

Cotton. Librar. Caligula.

PLEASETH your Grace to understand, that 28 day of April last past, we received your letter dated at Westminster the 22 day of April; wherin your Graces pleasure is, that upon deliberate communication had of sundry of our letters sent unto your Grace for provision of mony, it was thought by the Kings Grace, and his most honorable Council, that inasmuch as none of the Kings garrisons in any other place be, or have been used to be paid their wages but half yearly; it standeth not with any necessity, that the garrison of this town of Tournay should have continually so hasty and speedy payment made to them at the end of every three months: and for that cause the Kings pleasure is, that after the third day of the said month of April finally determined, the payments to be paid at the end of every half year, and not before. So that the third day of October, and the third day of April, shall be from henceforth our days of payment. 10 And for ease and better commodity of soldiers and victuallers, his pleasure is, that a prest of a thousand marks shal be advanced and assigned to the garrison, to be deducted and rebated at the half years payment. And over this, it is his gracious pleasure, the premisses to be notified and declared to al the garrison. And after, that we al of our Council here, and captains of the retinue, do send a certificate signed and subscribed with our names; declaring our selves to be contented and conformable to receive the payment in form afore rehearsed; without any farther calling or molesting the King and his Council in that behalf, &c.

Pleaseth your Grace, according to the Kings commandment and your Grace in this behalf; we have called before us al the captains, men of arms, vinteners, and constables; and declared and shewed them the Kings pleasure and your Graces, taken in the premisses, with the whole circumstance of your Graces letter; to the end, that they and every of them should assemble their companies, to advertise them the same; and that they should conform themselves to follow the tenour of your said Graces letter. Wherupon they have al assembled their companies; and have made certificates, as it appeareth. Which certificates we send your Grace with this letter; as wel the captains with the men of arms by themselves, as vinteners and constables by themselves.

Wherby your Grace shal perceive the great necessity and poverty that is among them. And, Sir, as far as we can know, we ascertain your Grace, and al my Lords of the Council, that al the articles declared in the said certificates be of truth and unfeigned. And also, that we cannot see it is possible to be brought to so long a day without the aventure, without some great inconvenience.

For at the making hereof, there were certain victuallers came and complained to me, the Kings deputy, that there were divers of the garrison that had taken their victuals from them by force. Wherupon I called afore me the parties so doing, to make redress therof. And they answered me, that they had offered the victualers to taylle with them, and to set it upon scores; for that that they had was laid to pledge; and that poverty made them do it; for mony they had none; nor no man would trust them; and without meat and drink they could not live. And the victuallers being as poor for their parts as others. For theirs might not abide the same. Wherupon I was driven to find remedy for the time as I might. Neverthelcs, Sir, we assure your Grace, if that we have not right shortly relief of mony for their wages, what great inconveniences would fortune by this extreme necessity, God knows; and we fear the likelihood. Especially, because the danger is at al howres so near, as here, to us.

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Number VI.

The Lord Mountjoy, and the Council at Tournay, to Cardinal Wolsey; upon his information of an enterprize intended against that place.

Cott. Librar. Caligul. E.

PLEASE your Grace, my Lord, we have received your letters, dated at Duresm Place, &c.

My Lord, your Grace knoweth wel we lately have advertised you as to the news of the enterprize of the French men; how that we suppose verily they be of little effect. I, the Kings lieutenant here, was also advertised of the same news by the said master Deputy: and both afore his advertisement and since, I sent out divers ways to know what assemblies were made, and the cause thereof: and was ascertained, that the assembly that was made was full poor, as was their musters. And as some take it, that it was to make braggs to the King of Arragons ambassadors. And I think it shalbe hard, what by such friends as I have gotten in these parties, and by such espies as I send forth, that smal things shal be attempted against this city, but I shal have warning afore. Notwithstanding, we require your Grace to continue your advertisement concerning this city. And that that shal come to our knowledge, we shal ascertain you in like wise, as our duties are. And if I had authority, and therewith to retain folks of their council, as wel might be don, I doubt not but I should know more of their privities and their enterprizing than I can now.

And as to the furnishing of this town with things necessary, if busines should fortune, we shal do that in us do ly. But your Grace knoweth wel we are but bare of mony here; and have but little over to bear the charge of the garrison and labours monthly. And for that purpose must be occupied divers ways (if any such chance should fortune) no smal sums of money. This city is also ill provided of victuals: and much we have to do with the inhabitants and council to have it amended, and to cause them to make provision for themselves. And as to the soldiers, they be of none ability for to provide of victuals, but look it should be provided of the King, in like wise as it was in Mr. Poinyngs days. For as yet there is no established garrison.

Furthermore, wheras your Grace thinketh, that the assembly which is bruited to be, or if any attemptates shalbe made against us, is not without the comfort, stirring, and procuring of the inhabitants of this town; wherfore the opinion of the Kings Council is, and the Kings express commaundment, that we forthwith, by all the best means that we can use, shal take from the said inhabitants al their harness and habiliments of war; wherby we shalbe out of danger of them, if they intend any thing prejudicial unto the city.

My Lord, as to that matter, we have used the best way we could devise. And for the same have caused al the city to be searched, what harness and habiliments of war they have: shewing unto them, we would know in what a readines they were to serve the King, if need were. And the 12
report is brought in by captains and others, which had the busines, that in harness and habergeous, good and evil, there be not in the inhabitants hands above the number of 557. In cross-bows 80. and in hand-guns 65. Which number we think little to be feared, if any danger. Where we may soon have them. And now if we should take them, they would little help us. And a great rumour should rise thereof. If the Kings Grace or his Council wol that in any wise we shall take them, his pleasure shal be accomplished to the best we may.

We have also visited the artilery house of the town: which is no great thing. It is under strong doors and locks, in the keeping of the four chiefs of this city. And I, the Kings lieutenant, intend to have other keys of the same doors, and to be the fifth with them.

My Lord, we beseech your Grace to have in remembrance, that we may have mony shortly; and that we may have some store remaining by us. For we were never so ill furnished. My Lord, we had made you answer or this, of the premisses, saving we deferred the same unto we had taken view throughout this city, both of their store of victuals and harness. And thus our Lord have you in his tuition. Written at Tournay the $\overline{\text{xi}}$ day of Septemb.

At your Graces commaundment,
Will. Mountjoy. Sir Ric. Jarnegam.
Richard Sampson. Sir Joh. Tremayle.
Sir Richard Whettehil.

Number VII.

A private combination of France, Denmark, and Scotland, of invading England, and attacking Tournay; discovered to Sir Richard Jernegan, the King's Lieutenant there, by one Henry Crossene, a spy of the Cardinal's in the French Court: being part of a letter from the said Sir Richard to the Cardinal.

Cotton. Librar. Caligula.

PLEASITH your Grace to understand, that this day came one Henry Crossene unto one of the gates here at Tournay, &c. Your Grace shal moreover understand, that the same Henry Crossene is come strait from the French Kings court, and hath shewed me this news following to advertise your Grace with diligence.

First, he saith, that the French King, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Albany for the realm of Scotland, and Richard de la Pole, be al in one confederation and appointment, and concluded upon these enterprizes following. And for the sure conclusion of the same, there is already departed into Scotland, and from thence to Denmark, Monsieur de Pursel, chief Counsillor of Roan, and David Cokron, 13 King of Herolds. The which David Herold of Denmark was the same that I took going to France now lately: of whom I wrote unto your Grace with speed. And whether my letters came to your Grace or not; or if I did in the same acceptable service or not, hitherto knew neither the Kings pleasure nor your Graces.

Item, That Richard de la Pole should take shipping in Denmark, and the Duke of Ulske, the King of Denmarks unkle, with a certain number of lance knights, to land in some part of England.

Item, That the Duke of Albany shall take shipping in Bretaign, to go into Scotland; and there to make busines against the King in those parties.

Item, That Monsieur de Burbone, and the Duke of Vendosme, at the same time shal come before this town. So that al these enterprizes should be put in execution al at one time: to the end that the King should be the more troubled for the defence of the same.

And al this should be put in ure within this two or three months.

And for that your Grace may give the more credence, and to have the more knowledg in this before rehearsed, there is one Mr. Robert Cokborne, a Scot, and Bp. of Ruse, who hath disclosed al this to the same Henry Crossene, as he saith; to the end that your Grace may be advertised. And the same Mr. Robert Kokborn desireth the Kings passport to pass and repass with twelve horses with himself, and then at his coming he will shew your Grace more at length of al that is further determined. The which he wil disclose to no man but to the Kings Highnes, or to your Grace. And if it shal be your Graces pleasure, that the said Mr. Ro. Kokb. shal have the Kings passport, and that it may so please your Grace, that the same passport may be sent to me, or to the Master of the Fellowship, Mr. Hewester, where the said Will. [Henry] Cross. do tary for the same: who should have the conveyance of it most secretlie that might be. For, as far as I can perceive by Will. [Hen.] Cross. the said Mr. Rob. Kokb. would depart secretlie out of France, and with hast by this herold of Denmark, which was here taken, is much of this before rehearsed, come to Mr. Rob. K. knowledge. For they are both Scots. And the herold thought that Mr. Ro. K. was good French, as he hath been before. But some cause there is, that he is not at this time content with the French King, but glad to be revenged.

Your Grace shall understand, that Richard de la Pool is departed from the French King, and is departed to Mence in Lorain. And from thence shall go to Denmark, as the same William saith. I doubt not, but as shortly as he shal depart from thence, I shal be advertised of his departure. For I have sent espials to Mence for the same.

Also, I send your Grace a letter here enclosed, that one Polle, a master of a ship, dwelling at Hansardame [Amsterdam] in Holland, hath sent to a Priest, Sir William, that is with Rich. de la Poole. The which Polle hath always served in time past Perkyn Warbeke, from Edmond de la Pole, and now Richard de la Pole. Wherfore this letter is the more suspect. And if this enterprize before rehearsed should be put in execution, I am sory that your Grace, and al the Lords of the Kings most honorable Privy Council, hath not given credence to our oft writings, for the avauncement of such works as should have been great, and most necessary for the surety of this the Kings citadel. For
14 if the same had been after our poor avices followed in the same, at the time the older part of this castle, which is yet very feeble, had been clean out of danger, and as strong and as defenceable as other of the new works is. And for lack of the same, I assure your Grace, whosoever hath informed your Grace the contrary, there shalbe great danger and great paine, with loss of many men to defend the same, if any such thing shal fortune or chaunce.

And now, Sir, at this time, for extreme poverty by fault and lack of mony, there be here, I assure your Grace, many dead, weary, and uncomfortable hearts, as knoweth our Lord God, who ever preserve your Grace to his pleasure.

Written at Tournay, the last day of May, by your servant to his little power,

Sir Rychard Jarnegan.

To my Lord Cardinals
good Grace.

Number VIII.

The Chapter of the Church of Tournay to their Bishop, the Cardinal of York; acknowledging their thankfulness to him for procuring them the King's patent, confirming all their former liberties; and begging his patronage.

Cotton. Librar. Caligula. F. 1.

LITERAS vestræ Amplitudinis, reverendissime Pater, accepimus; quæ nobis omnibus et jucundissimæ et gratissimæ fuerunt: eoque magis, quod jampridem summo desiderio expetivimus occasionem aliquam nobis oblatum iri, qua vestræ Dignationi studiosissime gratificaremur. Quam nunc oblatam esse mirifice gaudemus, et lætamur. Non quod vestris in nos beneficiis dignum aliquid jam rependamus: quinimo (sicuti par est) declarare imprimis cupimus, non modo nostram erga vestram Paternitatem benevolentiam, (quæ, ut debetur, maxima est,) sed cultum in eam præcipuum observantiamque singularem. Nos igitur omnes eodem assensu, ac una omnium voce, ita vestræ Dignationis petitioni annuimus, (quæ imperare potius quam rogare debuisset,) ut vehementer doleremus nos in re ampliori vestræ Paternitati non posse morem gerere: condonantes hilarissimè chirurgi regii filio quicquid vestra Amplitudo postulavit. Desideramus etiam id vestræ Amplitudini esse persuasum, nichil esse, sive et exiguum sit, aut grande, quod non alacriter ac promptissime vestra causa efficiamus.

Neque tamen illud est omittendum, quod literatissimo humanissimoque D^{no}. Doctori, vestræ Paternitatis Vicario, pluribus exposuimus; eam scil. pecuniam, quæ imprimis canonicorum receptionibus solita est persolvi, non in nostros usus et commoditatem converti, aut à nobis esse institutam, sed id omne pecuniæ quod persolvitur, in ecclesiæ fabricam, et thesaurarium ad cappam comparandam, implicatur. Quod etiam apostolica auctoritate et decreto huic ecclesiæ concessum est.

15 Cæterùm, ne pluribus vestram Dignationem detineamus, ea omnia eidem pollicemur, quæ à fidelissimis oratoribus, et vestræ dignitatis et nominis amantissimis, postulari possunt. Ad quod sanè astringimur multis magnisque rationibus. Vestra enim providentia effectum est, ut ecclesiastica libertas regali munere conservata et defensa sit, atque hactenus ejusmodi gubernatores rectoresque assecuti sumus, qui nos nostraque privilegia illæsa immotaque tutati sunt. Quæ nimirum omnia in vestræ Amplitudinis egregiam laudem et gloriam cumulatissimè reddiderunt.

Oramus igitur atque obtestamur vestram Dignitatem, ut vestræ hujus ecclesiæ patrocinium tutelamque suscipiat, quæ cotidiè supplicibus votis et pro invictissimi Regis nostri serenitate, et vestræ Paternitatis prospero successu, omnipotentem Deum humiliter suppliciterque precamur. Valeat dignissima vestra Paternitas. Ex capitulo nostro Tornacens. hac xv. Octobris.

V. Rev^mæ^. Paternitati humiles et obsequiosi oratores, Capitulum Tornasense, Decano absente.

Reverendiss. et observandissimo in Christo Primati, et Domino nostro D^no^. Cardinali Eboracensi.

Number IX.

A commission of Cardinal Wolsey to the Bishops; to require all Luther's books and writings to be brought in and delivered up to them from all persons whatsoever: and they to send them up to him. It was entitled,

Commissio ad monendum omnes personas, ecclesiasticas et sæculares; quod omnia scripta et libellos Martini Luther. hæretici, penes se existen. ad manus Episcopi vel ejus Commissarii infra tempus assignat. afferant, et tradant sub excommunicationis et hæreticorum pœnis.

THOMAS miseratione divina tituli Sce Cecilie Romanæ

Ecclesiæ, Cardinalis Eboracensis Archiep. Angliæ Primas, et apostolicæ sedis Legatus, ipsiusque regni Angliæ Cancellarius, necnon sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Dni. Leonis divina providentia hujus nominis Papæ decimi, et dict. sedis etiam de latere legatus. Ad illustrissimum et potentiss. Principem et Dom. nostrum Henricum Dei gra. Angl. et Franc. Regem, et Dom. Hibern. universumque ejus Angliæ regnum; ac omnes et singulas ipsius regni provincias, civitates, terras, et loca illi subjecta, et alia illi adjacentia. Regist. Booth. Ep. Heref.

Venerabili Fri. nostro Dno. Carolo Herefordens. Episcopo, ipsiusve in spiritualib. Vicario generali, salutem in Dno.

Cum jampridem præfatus sanctissimus Dus. noster multos et varios articulos sive errores cujusdam Martini Lutheri pestiferos et perniciosos, ac Græcorum hæresim et Bohemicam expressè continentes; olim etiam per concilia generalia et summorum Pontificum constitutiones damnatos, et per ipsum Martinum nuper suscitatos, habita primitus super eisdem, et eorum singulas diligenti discussione, atque matura deliberatione, tanquam pestiferos, pernitiosos, et hæreticos, ac simplicium mentium seductivos. Veritatique Catholicæ obviantes; ejusdem quoque Martini libellos, scripta ac scedulas in Latino, vel quocunque alio idiomate reperta; damnaverit, reprobaverit, atque omnino rejecerit, proque damnatis, reprobatis, et rejectis ab omnibus Christi fidelibus habere debere, decreverit, et declaraverit. Inhibueritque idem sanctissimus Dus. noster, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub majoris excommunicationis sententia; atque etiam hæreticorum et fautorum eorundem, aliisque multiplicibus gravibus et formidabilibus pœnis, eo ipso, absque ulteriori declaratione, incurrend. omnibus et singulis, tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus personis, cujuscunque gradus ac conditionis aut præeminentiæ forent; ne præfatos errores, aut eorum aliquos, asserere, affirmare, defendere, aut quomodo libet favere; vel hujusmodi libellos, scedulas, scripta vel in iis contenta capitula, legere, asserere, imprimere, publicare, defendere, vel in sermonibus suis, sive locis aliis, privatè vel occultè, quoquomodo tenere, præsumant. Prout in literis 16

Condemnatio errorum Martini Luth.

præfatis sanctiss. Dni. nostri sub plumbo cum filis sericiis rubei et glauci coloris pendentibus, more Romanæ curiæ bullatis. Dat. Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, anno incarnat. Dominicæ, mill^{imo}. quingentess^{o}. vicessimo, xiii. kalend. Julii: pontificat. sui anno octavo, plenius continetur.

Rex Angliæ Fidei Defensor nuncupatus.

Nos igitur Thomas Cardinalis Eboracens. ac Legatus de latere antedict. pro divina et ipsius sanctiss. Dni. nostri reverentia, æque officii nostri debito, hujusmodi pesti, priusquam in hoc inclyto Angliæ regno radices agat, providere; ac ne tanquam vepris nocua latiùs serpat, viam præcludere cupientes, de consensu, voluntate et mandato expressis, prefati potentiss. et illustriss. Principis, Dni. nostri Regis, quem dictus sanctiss. Dnus. noster, tanquam præcipuum fidei Catholicæ propugnatorem et defensorem, per suum breve, ad hujusmodi hæresim ab hoc inclyto suo regno explodendum, extirpand. et abolend. summopere, rogavit et hortatus est; habitoque super hac re diligenti tractatu, et exacta deliberatione cum reverendiss. in Christo Patre et Dno. D. Willimo Cantuar. Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primate, et apostolicæ sedis Legato, ac cum nonnullis aliis venerabilibus fratribus nostris, hujus regni Prælatis; deque eorum consilio et expresso consensu; vobis auctoritate nostrâ legatinâ, qua fungimur, in hac parte firmiter injungendo, mandamus, quatenus omnes et singulos, Abbates, Priores, Gardianos, et Præsidentes, monasteriorum, prioratuum, et locorum religiosorum quorumcunque, cujusvis ordinis, tam exemptorum, quam non exemptorum, necnon collegiatarum Decanos, Præpositos, et Custodes, parochialiumque quoque ecclesiarum Rectores, Vicarios, et Curatos quoscunque, tam vestræ quam cujusvis peculiaris, sive exemptæ jurisdictionis intra vestram dioc. consistentes, distinctè moneatis, et eis injungatis, seu sic moneri et injungi faciatis; quod proximo die Dominico, sive solenni post hujusmodi vestram monitionem sive injunctionem 17 eis fact. in ecclesiis suis intra missarum sive divinorum officiorum solemnia, cum major inibi convenerit multitudo, publicè moneant, vel moneri faciant omnes et singulos bibliopolas, stationarios, sive librorum venditores, ac omnes alias et singulas personas, ecclesiasticas et sæculares, intra præcinctum monasteriorum, prioratuum, collegiorum sive locorum aut parochiarum suarum respectivè existentes, seu commorantes, cujuscunque generis, status aut conditionis existant; ut omnia scripta, vel impressa, *vizt.* scedulas et libellos dict. Martini Lutheri, vel ejus nomine composita, edita, sive divulgata in Latino, vel quovis alio idiomate, penes se existen. ad vos seu vestrum in hac parte commissarium citra quintum decimum diem hujusmodi monitionem seu injunctionem ei fact. proximè et immediatè sequent. afferunt et ad manus vestras vel vri. hujusmodi commissarii, realiter tradant et liberent, seu sic afferri et tradi faciant. Recusantes vero, aut ultra dict. quintum decimum diem hujusmodi scripta inferri, ut premissum est, et realiter tradere, temerè et contumaciter differentes, omnes et singulos, cujuscunque gradus, status et conditionis existunt, majoris excommunicationis sententiam eo ipso incursuros, ac tanquam hæreticæ pravitatis, et hæreticorum celatores et fautores esse reputandos, habend. et judicand. hæreticorumque pœnis percellendos, et puniendos, denuntient et declarent.

Prædictos etiam Abbates, Priores, Gardianos, Præsidentes, Decanos, Præpositos, Custodes, Rectores, Vicarios, et Curatos supradict. ut supra moneatis, et eis injungatis, quod et ipsi omnia scripta impressa, libellos, seu scedulas à dict. Martino composita et edita, aut sub ejus nomine divulgata, penes se existentia, pari modo citra prædict. xv. diem, ad vos vel vestrum hujusmodi commissarium, afferant et realiter tradant. Quod siqui ex ipsis non curaverint, aut prædict. vestras monitiones debitè executi non fuerint et personis infra sua monasteria, prioratus, collegia, parochia, et loca commorantibus (prout eos respectivè concernunt) modo quo præmittitur, minimè publicaverint, eos denuntietis simili modo majoris excommunicationis sententia innodatos, et tanquam hæreticorum fautores habendos, ac eorum pœnis afficiend. Moneatis insuper omnes et singulos Abbates, Priores, Gardianos, &c. et eis auctoritate nostra injungatis, quod ipsi omnes et singulas personas, ecclesiasticas et sæculares, infra limites monasteriorum, prioratuum, collegiorum, &c. respectivè existentes sive degentes, loco tempore et modo præmissis, discretè moneatis, quod siquis hujusmodi libellos vel scedulas, scriptave, sive impressa dict. Martini Luther. opera, penes aliquem cujuscunque status aut conditionis fuerit, occultè servari aut supprimi; ac vobis, vel dicto vestro commissario, citra præmissum diem quintum decimum tradi ac liberari cognoverit; quod sic servantem, tenentem, et supprimentem, mox ipso quinto decimo, sub pœnis superius expressis, vobis vestrove hujusmodi commissario, denuntiet detegat, et revelet. Quod si fortassis non ante prænemoret quintum decimum, sed postea ad alicujus notitiam pervenerit hujusmodi scripta vel impressa dict. Martini opera, à quovis celari, teneri et servari, tunc infra quindecim dies à tempore notitiæ suæ hujusmodi, sub pœnis superius expressis, id vobis detegere, et denuntiare non omittat.

Et quoniam universæ reip. Christianæ, præsertim hujus regni, et locorum supra memoratorum plurimum interest,
18 præfatas literas sanctis. Dni. nostri damnationem dict. Martini Luther. et opinionum suarum perversarum continentes, divulgari et publicari; idcirco vobis committimus et mandamus, quatenus ipsarum literarum apostolicarum transumpta per notarium publicum, in forma autentica redacta, et sigillo nostro sigillat. quæ ad vos una cum præsentibus transmittimus, in valvis, seu locis publicis ecclesiæ vestræ cathedral. aliarumque ecclesiarum regularium, collegiatarum, et paroch. vestræ dioc. magis insignium, firmiter affigatis; sicque affixa dimittatis; seu saltem affigi et dimitti faciatis.

De die vero receptionis præsentium, executioneque earundem, et quid in præmissis feceritis, nos citra primum diem mensis Augusti proximè futur. debitè, distinctè et apertè certificetis. Ac omnia et singula, scedulas, libellos, tractatus et opera prædict. Martini, edita, scripta, et impressa, per vos recepta, vel aliter quovis modo in manibus vestris, sive penes vos existen. citra prædict. primum diem Augusti, nobis tradere, sive ad nos fideliter, et absque ulla fraude, transmittere curetis. Dat. sub sigillo nostro in ædibus nostris prope Westme^{r}' xiiii. die mensis Maii, anno Dom. 1521.

Sequuntur aliqui errores pestiferi Martini Luther, &c.

Qui quidem errores respectivè, quàm sint pestiferi, quàm pernitiosi, quàm scandalosi, quam piarum et simplicium mentium seductivi; quam denique sint contra omnem charitatem, ac S. R. E. matris, omnium fidelium, et magist^{e}. fidei reverentiam, atque nervum ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, obedientiam scil. quæ fons est et origo omnium virtutum; sine qua facilè unusquisque infidelis esse convincitur; nemo sanæ mentis ignorat. Nos igitur in præmissis, etc.

Number X.

Fox, Bishop of Winchester, to the Cardinal; upon his purpose of reforming the ecclesiastics *and* religious *in both provinces. For which he sheweth an earnest desire, as highly necessary.*

REVERENDISSIME Pater et Dne. mihi unicè semper observande, salte^{m}' plurimam, et optatum votorum omnium successum.

Ingentem atque mirificam, Pater amplissime, ex proximis vestris ad me literis, cepi consolationem atque voluptatem; quod ex illis intellexi D. V. reverendissimam universi Cleri reformationem secum instituisse; et ad eam inchoandam atque aggrediendam diem brevi futuram præfiniisse et præscripsisse. Eum namque profectò diem jam diu non minus, quàm Symeon ille evangelicus expectatum Messiam, votis omnibus videre expetivi, et ex quo illas D. V. reverendiss^{æ}. literas legi, reformationem ampliorem et multo exactiorem universæ Anglorum ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ, mihi videor tantum non sentire et palpare, quàm ego hac hominum ætate vel faciundam vel ineundam divinare potui, nedum sperare. Conatus enim facere (quod mearum erat partium) in ditione hac meâ peculiari et exiguâ, quod V. præstantissima dominatio instituit in utraque amplissima hujus regni provincia; 19 et hoc ferè perpetuum triennium illi uni negotio diligenter incubui; omniaque mea studia, labores, vigilias, sudores, in ea ferè una collocavi. Ubi, quod prius non putassem, deprehendi et animadverti, omnia, quæ ad antiquam Cleri, et

Cott. Librar. Faustina, c. 7.

præcipuè monachiæ, integritatem spectant, adeo vel licentiis et corruptelis depravata, vel temporum malignitate et diuturnitate abolita et corrupta, ut ætate mihi confecto, voluntatem et studium auxerint; spem verò omnem sustulerint, perfectam et absolutam unquam videndi reformationem, in hac vel mea diocesi privata.

Nunc autem ex optatissimis illis V. R^{mæ}. D^{nis}. literis veni in certissimam spem, summamque expectationem brevi videndi universalem et publicam. Exploratissimum nempe habeo, multisque experimentis luculentissimè perspectum, quicquid D. V. R^{ma}. moliatur, instituerit et susceperit, id eam omne prudentissimè et constantissimè, citra negotium aut contationem, confecturam et felicissimè absoluturam: tam incomparabilis extat in ea divinarum humanarumque rerum peritia, tamque singularis apud serenissimum nostrum Regem, sanctissimumque D. Papam, gratia et authoritas. Quibus, quum V. circumspectissima D. hactenus ita perfuncta sit, ut summam inde laudem, amplissimamque per universum orbem famam, sic assecuta; ex hac profecto sua clarissima legatione, quam compositis, et suâ unâ operâ inter Christianiss. principes, confirmatis fœderibus; ad statum et ordinem ecclesiasticum reformandum, et componendum decrevit convertere; solidam et immortalem apud Deum et omnem posteritatem gloriam reportabit. Tanto cæteris omnibus, qui nostra memoria quovis gentium à summi Pontificis latere missi sunt, præstantiorem et celebriorem, quanto vel pax bello expetibilior, vel Clerus populo sanctior, et veneratior. Nam si quamplurimis Pontificibus maximis, vel oblivione, vel silentio præteritis, bini illi olim huc legati omnium ore ubique terrarum hodiè celebrantur: idque tamen ob nonnullas sanctiones, quas præmaturo Romam reditu infirmiores reliquêre, quæ ætas, aut quæ malignitas V. R^{mi}. nominis laudem et celebritatem vel delere possit unquam, vel obfuscare; cum universum Angliæ Clerum et monachiam suæ integritati et dignitati restituerit; et legem ad eam tuendam, et inconcussè servandam, condiderit; conditasque moribus et consuetudine comprobari et confirmari, fecerit.

Quod D^{ni}. V. R^{mæ}. non dubito eo multo facilius feliciusque succedet, quod Rex noster Christianissimus, cujus hortatu et auspiciis (arbitror) hanc provinciam recepit, omnem suam authoritatem et opem ei ad votum, impertiet: omnesque Prælati, præsertim Episcopi, suos assensus e tstudia alacres, ni admodum fallor, adhibebunt.

Et ut de meipso saltem pollicear, quod animus meus ferre præstareque gestit, sic mihi videtur hæc *reformatio* Cleri et sacrorum omnium oblatrantem diu populum placatura, Clerum illustratura, Regem ipsum sereniss. et optimates omnes Clero conciliatura; et Deo imprimis opt. max. plus omnibus sacrificiis usque adeo placitura, ut quicquid reliquum sit mihi hujus vitæ curriculi, id in eam lubentissimè impenderem atque consumerem: uti D. V. Revmæ. apertius coram declarabo ad diem in illius literis præfinitum; si mihi vivo et sano illum videre detur.

20 Interim vero, imo dum vixero, Deum benignissimum cotidiè assidueque inter sacri ——— precabor, ut D. V. Revam. diutissimè servet, omniaque illius instituta secundet, et feliciter et faustè. Ex Marwellis postridie calendas Januarii.

V. Remæ. Dis. devinctiss. orator.
Ri. Wynton.

Number XI.

Richard Pace, the King's Ambassador, to the Emperor, from his camp in Italy; concerning the state of his army there against the French. To the King's Highness.

MSS. D. G. H. Eq. Aur.

PLEASITH hyt your Highnes to bee advertisid, that upon the 21st of July wee entred the montens, namid Le Colle de Tenda, so upright to ascend and stand, that in many places it made us creep of al four: and so proclive in descence, that without great forcemeant to go bolt upright, wee could not avoide to fal down headlyng; and universallie so difficile and joberdeuse, that no man can peraventure beleve the same without like experience, as wee al therin fownde: but, our Lord highlie be laudid and sembla-

blie thankid, the number passid with leasse detriment then is in manner credible: but what tediousnes of heats, thrist, and hunger, with molestious passage of baggage was therin generallie sufferid, with other inconveniencies infinit, at this present I omit to declare, as things over base to write unto your Grace. Whom I wold not ignorant, that I your poor servant among the mo making as gud shift as an other, hath byn on horsbacke and foot in continual jorney from mydnight to mydnight. Where I durst not in the most part therof other turn my horse travers for al the worldlie riches, nor in manner look on my left hand, for the pronite and deepnes to the valei. The 6th day imediatlie foloing wee attained Nice, the foot of the said hill. Where themprour, bankettid for the space of two howers of the Duke of Savoy and the Duchesse, departid incontinent to the camp, lying three miles beyond in Saint Laurence, within the jurisdiction of France. Where, for the refreshing of his army, now very werie, and with intolerable labour almost overcum, continued five days: and thens made seven long miles: the next day ten leages, *et postridie* twelve: attayning a towne called Frÿew, replenisht with Capiten Tamise band, contayning seven thousand such Almans as often hath not byn seen, both of personage and also valiancie. The which imbarkid at Oeane, after they had depopulatid the Cond of Mirandula his londes, were hard set ————, and putting all the town to flight and sacke, as thorowe all our journey wee found the people fled into the mowntens, for the savegard of there lyves and goddes: notwithstanding his Majestie made proclamation thorowout by trumpet, that they should not feare nor flye him, for that that hee had no quarrel against; but offerid, if they wolde tarie, to protect and kepe them and thers harmeles, as a Prince ful of misericord and
21 mercy, having no notable vice reigning in hym worthy reprehension, more then the fragilite of man temperid and governid with reason often sufferith and provokith. After wee enterid the said Kings londes, wee found all kindes of vitell plentie, and food for horse in great copie, as otherwyse in our other passages before made, store of gudlie rivers to

drink. Where every man, compellid to make provision of bred and wine, did accordinglie, by the gudnes of Almighty God so abundantlie furnishid with the same, that wee did therwith pass thorow the journey, without any great detriment suffered. Here tharmy continued four days; many of our tents and pavilions, by extreme vehement windes, not onely blown downe, but also rent in peaces. From whence, before the departeur of the same, was sent before the mentionid capiten with hys to scower the way of al enemise, accompanyng hym Ferdinando Gonzaga with three hundred light horses: that skirmishing with four hundred hagbushiers of France, an hundred and fifty archers, and so many men of armes, (as more particularly this present measenger can sufficientlie instructe your Grace,) defaitid them all in a shorte tyme, both parties manfully fightyng for the space; and that onely by the meane of an hundred old soudiers of Spayne, hagbusheirs mynglied among our mentionid light horses. In the which combatterie were taken two nobles of France. Thone namid Mons. Busie, and the other Monteiane, Capiten General of the Pictons; now returnid home upon there rancesome paid before, brought to themperor to kyss his hondes: that of there parties humble offerid, hee like hymself refusid. Seven hundred horsemen sent from the Kyng of Romans hath now attaynid our camp. Which I esteme so strong and potent, that hyt were able in my judgment to discomfit the Turque and his armie; comprizing an hundred thousand of as gud fyghtyng men as ever hee was capiten of: ye, if there were therunto adjuted fifty thousand moo. Here yet remainith many gentlemen of France under savegard taken in the skirmish aboue towchid. Themprour kepith as gudlie an order in hys fyld, and in the settyng forth of the same, as possible is, always in a reddines to rencontre hys adversarie. That in Fryew set four and twenty great peaces of artillerie on lond with carteis to carrie the same, dayly foloing us in the hinder ward. Hit is a wondre to see the boties our soudiars bringith dayly into the camp from the mountaines, and what shyft is made to fynde out hidden riches in wals, and under the ground, nothyng escaping the

Spanyardys, in that facultie wonderfullie experimentid or learnid.

Your Highnes herith all the resystance themprour hath had syns his entrie into the province. Owr being in Frÿew came a trumpeter of France to view our campe, under the couler of visitation of a Marques of Spayne, in the behalf of Monsr. Roch de Mann, not long syns plegge for the surrenderie of Fussan, in my other lettres from those parties sent mentioned, for that humanitie hee then fownd in that fortune of the said marches. Among all other his Majesties awnswer unto such a sleveless messeage was, that hee cow'd not a litle marvel to perceive so great paines and charges taken in this visitation, where personallie hee might have rendrid hys condign thanks more nere home very shortly by mougth. There is cumen alate from Almane a capiten named Jasper, with twelve thousand men of war: wherof
22 part bee left at Turin in Italy, and part be in this our camp with the said capiten. The sixth day after our departeur from Savillay in Piemont, the French men of Thurrin came thither with all there power and force to sack the same. The which as they were a doing, themprours army there left of Almans and Italions so set apon them; that scace escapid one to carie newes of there defeit to the said Turrin. The King of Romains horsemen touchid in my other letters of Boemes, remainith in Italy, for the defence of the same against such persons as are had in a jelosie of revolting, that bee in my beleafe the Venetians. That, having no manner of possessions nor jurisdictions, but by tyranny and mear occupation, fearith the greatness of his Majesty, that in tyme to cum may so peasiblie increase, that there feathers should bee thereby worthilie pluckid: there own consciences arguing and condempning there intolerable ambition, usurping other mens gudes. Whom I may reasonably compare to the bat, deplumed for hur inconstancie, of part taking now here, now there; givyng ayd where she saw victorie incline, as a condign punishment for hur defection from hur natural lord and capiten, as referrith the wise fable of Isope.

There bee a thousand Spaniards cumming from Spain, the which (as I conjectur) bee to put into fortresses, as they bee renderid or gotten. For they be naturallie men of great pain, and that can suffer hunger as long as is for man possible, that in a seage is necessarie: as knoith our Lord God, who keep your Highnes in long life and like prosperitie; loulie besekyng the same to pardon me, that I now use my secretaries help, myn hond not hable to performe hys accostomid office, as shortlie I trust hee shal.

My fortune being to visite Monsieur de Grandvele in Frÿew, I meat there with Cardinal Carachelus, that very gladlie salutid me, and demaundid how your Grace did fare, makyng a syngular great prayse to me of your wisdome, gudness of nature, and like humanite, experimentid sumtime at hys being in your realme, as collector to hys mastre, to whom hee hertilie besought God to send a reconciliation of your partie. That shewid me, that hee was in desperation of peace, considering that his collega Trenouls had not according to promise written to hym syns his departeur toward France. And wheras I yet said, that I trustid that peace shuld succede by his prudencie, he made me awnsuere, that he perceivid not how it shuld cum to pass: adding, that as his commission extendid no ferder, so trustid hee to obteine licence of themprour to returne. As then hee toke hys licence, and thens conveid by see. Antonio de Leva ys thorowout all thys long journey caried upon mens shulders.

Most noble Prince, to recyte vnto you the wisdome of this Prince, or the conduit of this hys enterprize, you wold not a litle marvel. So that, setting apart hys manifold other verteus qualites in this onlie thinge, me thinkith that hee is the Prince, that Luce in his Evangelie touchith, that cowntith to what effect his war may cum unto, before he beginnith the same; unless that otherwise hee bee compellid to send for peace to hys dishonor, nothing hable to performe that that hee had begone. His ingins of war of all sorts in great copie ar caried continuallie with him, with myners, as wel for that affer, as in all this our journey, ready to make

23 our way, where it is not passable; provision by se of wyne, bisquiet, meal, salt, meats, and corn, from al quarters in such abundance, as hath not byn sene, cumith to meat hym in every ——— by the costes, whereby hee rytchith his camp.

[*The rest is defaced.*]

From Luca in the Province, 5. Augusti.

Your most faithful bedisman,
and like assurid servant,
Rychardus Pace, Priest.

Number XII.

Cardinal Wolsey to Mr. Secretary Pace, the King's Ambassador in Italy; to treat with the Venetians to aid the Emperor against the French; attempting to recover Milain and Naples.

To my loving frende Master Richard Pace, the Kings principal Secretary.

Master Secretary,

MSS. D. G. H. Eq. I COMMENDE me unto you in my most herty maner. Sens my last writing unto you, I have receyved divers and sundry your letters to the Kings Highnes, and to me directed, bering date as wel in Mantua and Verona, as also in Trent, after your arrival there. Wherof the last be of the xxiiii^th^ of December. In your said letters ye have ful discretely advertised the Kings Highnes, and me, of the occurrants in those parties, with such matiers, as the Duke of Burbon hath desired you to write on his behalf. For which your diligence the Kings Grace geveth unto you herty thanks, like as I do the semblable.

Advertising you, that the Kings Grace by sundry wayes hathe lately be advertised, that the Frenshe King, lying himself with the most part of his armie stil at the siege of Pavia, hath sent and avaunced, or intendeth shortly to send forthe ons again, the Duke of Albany towards Naples. After whom it was first said, that the said Viceroy of Naples, and others themperors folks, leving Lody, were passed and took their way thiderward, for defence of the same: and that the

Frenshe King therupon had sent after them the Countie Saint Pole, with other good captaines and bands of men, thinking to interclude themperors folks betwene both companies. Afterwarde, by letters sent from the Duke of Milan of the xxii^d of December to his Ambassador resident with the Kings Highnes, the same amonges other newes perceyved, that in cace the French King shulde send any power towards Naples, or make visage so to do, for any policie or crafte, thinking therby to cause the said Viceroy to abandonne Italy, and to attende the defence of Naples, the said French King shulde be gretely frustrate of his owne opynyon. For the said Viceroy wolde in nowise leve Italy, but assone as 24
he shulde have his power unite, experiment batail with the said French King. Which thing to here and understond, the Kings Highnes was veray joyeows and glad, commending and lawding gretely the said Viceroys grete vertue, wisedome, and good conduyte in this behalf. This matier is of grete and high importance, upon the successes wherof be like to depend many things in Cristendome ; and particulerly in the Kings affaires.

Specially considering, that if the French King, causing themperours folks thus by litle and litle to abandonne the duchie of Mylain, and contynuing his enterprises, shulde fortune to have also the overhande in Naples, it were like that he sholde therby be so elated, that he wolde be more obstinate, and ferder from good wayes of peax, than ever he was bifore.

On thother partie, if his armye thus divided, themperours folks, and such as be bounde to take his part in Italy, may be conjoyned togedre in tyme, and do their dutie according to thair bands and conventions ; it were not unlike, but that the Frenche King and his armye may be brought unto a grete extremyte, and peradventure reapente this his enterprise. But if by remysse dealing of such as shulde put their hande to the remedy of the matier, the Imperialls shall not be puissant inoughe to withstand the malice of their enemyes ; than were it better that some politique waye wer taken and provided in tyme, rather then to put bothe the duchie of Mylain, and also the realme of Naples into extreme daungier and peril. For which cause the Kings Highnes, mynding alwaies to pretermyt nothing that his Grace may do for the furtherance of the common affaires, seing and perceyving the matiers of Italye to bee so intriked as they now be, and not without apparance of grete dangier, hath at this tyme signified unto the Bishop of Bathe, to bee shewed unto the Poopes Holynes, what is thought here to be the best means for the remedy of the same: like as by the copie of my letters sent at this tyme to the said Bishop of Bathe, being herewith, ye shal mowe perceyve at good lenghth; mentionyng, amonges other things, thre wayes and devices by the which it is thought here, that a remedy may be provided to the grete inconvenientes in my said letters specified, and apparant to ensue in cace the Frenche King shulde attayne the realme of Naples. On is, batil to bee stryken with the Frenche King, suffring the said Duke to pass in to Naples. The other is, an enterprise to be made upon the Duke of Albanye and his company, in his passage towards Naples. And the thirde is, a compromyssion to bee made of such partys as either themperour, or the Frenche King have in the duchie of Mylain, into the Poopes hands *per viam depositi:* as by the said copy ye shal perceyve at grete length. By tenour wherof ye shal, amonges other things, understande, that for the better furtherance of these three things, the Kings Highnes promiseth, that ye shal repaire in diligence unto Venece, there to solicite and procure the spedy avauncing and setting forthe of their armye, to joyne with that of themperours, against the common enemye.

Wherfore his Highnes and I desire you to take some payne herin, seing the good effects that may ensue of the same: and, amonges other things, to persuade unto the Veneceans, upon such grete and notable consideracions as be mentioned in the said copie, towching the daungiers immynent 25 unto al Christendome, fermely and constantely to stik and adhere at this tyme unto themperours partie, and not to suffre themself to be brought in to suche dangier as they are like to be, if the Frenche King were lorde of Naples and Mylain. Who, they may be wel assured, wolde be no quiete neybour unto them; ne they shulde, withoute their grete trouble and perill, conveniently resist or withstande any his pleasures or commaundements. The example wherof, and of his entente towards that seigniorye, if he may have an overhande in Italy, appered at suche tyme as the late Frenche King compassed and brought about the grete liege of the Poope, Emperour, hymself, and the King of Spayne than being, with other grete Princes against the same.

And in this matier ye shal the better animate and encourage them, if ye say secretely to the Duke and other of the counsail, that it is not unknowen unto the Kings Highnes, how inhumainely the Spanyards have ordred them selfes in Italy, geving therby cause and occasion to such as favour themperours parte to declyne from the same, and rather to desire and suffer the Frenche men there, not being so cruel, than the Spanyards. But ye shal say, that the matiers wel proceding at this tyme, the Kings Highnes trusteth to do so moche with themperour, that he shal geve the investiture of the duchie of Mylain clerely unto the Duke of the same. Wherby Italy may be delyvered both from the Frenche men and also the Spanyards. And thus, by the best meanes ye can, to further, by al the wayes to you possible, thexclusion of the Frenche King from this enterprise of Naples, and the strengthening themperours folks, to resist him in the duchie of Mylain.

Wherunto if the Veneceans wol not condescende, like as they shal be partyners of the peril, the French King having such a foot in Italy, that he may commaunde them at his pleasure, so thei shal be of the first that shal suffre and put their state and domynion with the rest of Cristendome in trouble, hazarde, and dangier.

Ye shall say also unto them, that if thei breking their pacts, bands, and convencions with themperour, shulde geve unto the Frenche King commodite to attayne the realme of Naples, the Kings Highnes cannot repute them as themperours frends, but rather his enemyes: wherof in that cace, as God forbede, shulde grow and ensue also cause of enemyte bitwene the Kings Grace and them. In the declaration wherof ye must handle them in doulce and pleasant maner; putting them in remembrance of the grete intelligence and frendship, that hath of long season continued bitwene this realme and that seignorie. Which to be discontinued in their defaulte, the Kings Highnes, for the grete favour that his Grace bereth to the same, wolde be right loth to see. And the point of enemyte bitwene the King and them not to be spoken of, onles then ye shal see a desperation in their proceding.

It shal also be wel done, that at some convenient tyme, as of your self, ye persuade unto the Duke of Venece, that these grete things depending, touching as wel the contynuance of the good intelligence bitwene the Kings Grace and them, as other matiers of weighty importance, concernying the state of their seigniorye; it shal be right expedient for conducing of things to the better trayne and purpose, that they have an ambassadour here resident, by whose meanes 26 the matiers may be directed to moche the more perfection, as by their wisdomes they can wel consider. And what answer shalbe made unto you, upon al the premisses, with other occurants and successes there, I pray you to advertise me with diligence from tyme to tyme, as the Kings and Ann. 1524. my special trust is in you. And thus right hertely fare ye well. At my place besides Westminster the xvi^th^ day of Januar.

Your lovyng frende,
T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

Number XIII.

Instructions by the King for Mr. Pace, sent to the State of Venice.

HENRY R.

MSS. D. G. H. Eq.

INSTRUCTIONS yeven by the Kings Highnes to his trusty and right welbiloved Counsailor and chief Secretarye Mr. Richard Pace, conteygnyng such charges and matiers as he shal disclose to the Duke and Senate of Venyce, or to other having principal auctoritie in the governance of the bien publique of that dominion.

Furste, after the Kings cordial recommendations and deliveraunce of his letters credentials, the Kings said Secretary shal say, that the Kings Highnes, calling to his remembraunce thauncient amities and perfite intelligence, that hath bene established, and perseverauntly contynued, as wel betwixt the Kings most noble progenitours, and that dominion of Venice, as also betwixt his Highnes and theym for the tyme of his noble reigne, not oonely tendering and advauncyng al their causes and matiers, redounding to their honours and suerties, as his awne propers; and entertaignyng al and singler their oratours, merchaunts, and subgietts, reasorting to his realme with honour, favour, and al courtaisie; but also for the singler zele and benevolent affection, that his Grace hath borne and berithe to the said dominion, willing theim as his right dere frendes to be participaunt of al commodities and benefits that mought ensue unto theym of and by the treaties, confederations, and conventions of peax, amitie, and intelligence heretofore passed and concluded, betwixt his Grace and any other outward prince or princess, hath alwayes expressely comprehended theym in al and singler such treaties. Which comprehension they, as right noble and provident personages, have not oonely accepted thankfully, shewing unto the Kings subgietts, reasorting to their dominions, al humanitie and gentilnes, but also sundry tymes sent their autentique letters under their seal of lede, contaygnyng thacceptation of the said comprehension: and specially now of late upon the treaties concluded at London, betwixt the Kings Highness, themperour, and the French King, as Princes contrahents. Which amitie his Grace trusted shuld have bene permanent and perdurable, remembring the corroboration therof by treaties of aliaunce, and also mutuel entervieu with profite, acqueyntaunce, and familier communication betwixt theym, over 27
and aboue the corporal oothes, seals, and subscriptions, made and passed on boothe parties.

But how dishonorably the said Frenshe King hath ordered and demeaned hymself, aswel to the Kings Highnes his reame, countreis, dominions, and subgietts; to themperour, being oon of the principal contrahents in the said treatie, and to diverse others comprehended therin, in violating the same, the King thought right expedient to intimate and notifie unto the said Venicians, as to his right dere frendes; to the intent, that his inconstant, disloyal, and dishonourable demeanure, being to theym perfitely knowen, they may ordre theym self unto hym, as wel according to tharticle of thair comprehension, conteygned in the said treatie of London, and by thair letters patents accepted, as to take special regard how they joyne theym selffs with that Prince, which not being contented with his awne limits, contynually deviseth and studieth how to disturb the peax of Christendome: for his private proffit encroching upon the dominions of the moste part of al Christen princes, wherin their parte lyeth depely, if the said Frenshe King mought establishe his dominions, auctoritie, and puyissaunce in Italie.

And furste, Whereas, amonges other articles conteigned in the said treatie, it is provided, that in caas any of the principal contrahents shuld be invaded or disturbed by thoder, the Prince not making invasion being required by the partie invaded, was and is bound to declare hymselff enemye, and to geve an assistence ayenist the invasour: wherupon themperour, pretending hymselff not oonly to be invaded by the Frenshe Kings capitains and armye in his reame of Naverre, but also disturbed in his possessions, dominions, and countreis, by Robert de la Merche and others, by the said Frenshe Kings procuring, ayding, and assisting, with men and money, hath diverse and many tymes required the Kings Highnes to declare hymself enemye unto the said Frenshe King, and to give ayde and assistence to hym ayenist the said Frenshe King: howbeit the Kings Highnes bering singler zele, as wel to the establishing of good peax in Christendome, as to the continuance of mutuel amitie and amicable intelligence betwixt hym and the said

Frenshe King, rather practised the wayes and meanes to reduce themperour and hym to concorde and unitie, then by his declaration, or geving assistence, to norishe and continue werre and hostilitie. Wherupon his Grace sent the mooste reverend Fader in God, the legate Cardinal of Yorke, as his lieutenante to Calais, not oonely to here the contraversies and questions with other grieffs and differences, depending in variaunce betwixt themperour and the said Frenshe King, but also amicably to compounde the same by summe covenable peax, treatie, or abstinence of werre.

And albeit many things were alledged on themperours partie at the dyet at Calais, proving the invasion to procede of the Frenshe King, being justified and approved by sundry instructions and letters signed with his awne hand; which his Chauncellor and Counsail there assembled coude not avoyde by any probable grounds; yet the Kings Grace, folowing continually the waies of peax, willed his said lieutenant not oonly to forbere his declaration, but also to continue the said dyet, to thintent that by ferther labour, means, and mediation, summe goode conclusion mought be taken in pacifying the said variaunce. Wherupon the said Legate sundry tymes, after his return to the Kings presence, sent his messingers with letters and instructions to the Frenshe 28
Kings moder, for bringing the differences to summe goode treux by her charitabe meanes and mediacions. Howbeit though faire and pleasaunt wordes were geven for the tyme, yet by delaies the matier was alwaies tracked, and put over without any fruteful determination. And in the meane season the Frenshe King, contrarye to his oothe and promyse, not oonely sent the Duke of Albanye into Scotlande in contempt of the King, being supreme lorde of that lande; which Duke pretendithe hymselff heire apparaunt to the crowne there; whereby the yong King, nepheu to the Kings Grace, was and is in extreme daungier of deethe or deposition; but also to invade the Kings reame, and dishonour the Kings suster by separation of her from her lieful houseband, and dampnably to contracte matrimonye with her, wherin there is now vehement presumpcion by sending

therle of Anguishe her said houseband into Fraunce, there to be deteigned prisoner. And yet with this not contented, the same Frenshe King hath not oonely restrayned the payment of the Kings money, to the contentation wherof he is bound by his oothe under the censures of the Church, though the same hath bene often demaunded on the Kings behalf; but also continually entertaineth the Kings rebellious subgiet, Richard de la Pole. And over this, albeit the Frenshe King graunted his letters of save conduyte under his signe and grete seal, to al and singler the Kings subgiets reasorting to Burdeux, or any other part of his dominions, frely and surely to come, remaigne, and retorne, with their goods, shippes, and merchaundises, without arrest, disturbaunce, inquietation, or impechement, yet he not regarding his promise ne save conduyte, subdainly without declaration or monicion arrested the persons, goods, shipps, and merchaundises of the Kings said subgiets at Burdeux and eliswhere; the like wherof hath not bee harde doon of any Christien prince, and skaunte of an infidele. And over this, his subgietts, by his permission and sufferaunce, have cruelly and dispitefully spoyled and robbed the Kings lieges on the see, under colour of peax and amitie: refusing to make any due restitution, reformation, or redresse for the same.

Upon which causes, groundes, and considerations, the Kings Highnes hath not oonely declared hymself enemye to the Frenshe King, but also notified unto hym, that from hensfurthe he woll take part with themperour ayenist hym with al his force and power: declaring also al maner treaties and convencions heretofore passed betwixt his Grace and the said Frenshe King void, frustrate, and of noon effecte in his defaulte.

By the premisses it is open and manifest, how disloially the said Frenshe King hath violated his oothe, treaties, conventions, safe conduytes, and promises to the Kings Highnes: by reason whereof his Grace was and is enforced not oonely to declare hymselff enemye unto hym as aboue; but also in joynyng with themperour, to do unto the same Frenshe King, his landes, dominions, and subgietts, al the

annoysaunce, dammage, and prejudice with his strength and puissaunce, that he can. Inasmoche therfore as the said Venecians have hitherto taken parte with the said Frenshe King, in geving to hym aide and assistance ayenist themperours armye in Italie, the Kings Grace thought right expedient, as a faithful frende, to geve advertisement unto theym, that enmitie standing betwixt the Kings Highnes and the same Frenshe King, they shuld and owe, not oonely forbere to geve ayde and assistance unto the same Frenshe King;
but also upon requisition to theym made, on the King and 29
themperours parties, to declare theym selffs enemies unto hym, according to tharticle of the treatie by theym accepted and approved. Which letters of requisition the Kings Highnes now sendithe to his said Secretary, to be delivered unto the Duke and Senate, or thoder governours; advertiseing the same his Secretary, that themperour at this tyme sendith also his semblable letters of requisition to be delivered by his ambassador, thinking right expedient that they boothe . . . . togeders shulde jointely deliver the said letters of requisicion to the same Venicians, not oonely declaring unto theym the hoole circumstance of al the said Frenshe Kings variaunte demeanure, according to the premisses, with theffecte of such matiers as be comprised in the Kings letters of requisicion; but also requiring theym to absteigne and forbere to ayde, favour, and assist the said Frenshe King; and according to the said article to declare theymselffs enemyes unto hym. Which thing of good congruence they cannot refuse to doo, if they intende and purpose to lyve in peax and amitie with the King and themperour. For remembring the Frenshe King to be enemye, and in hostilitie to and with theym boothe, if the Venicians shulde incline to his partie by geving ayde and assistence unto hym, they expressely by thair acts shulde declare theymselffs ayenist the said King and Emperour. And if they shal say, that they woll remaigne neutrall without geving assistence or making declaration to the oon partie or thoder, than it may be answered, that they observe not the purporte of tharticle, which is to declare theymselff enemie to the in-

vasour after the letters of requisition. For it is not to be doubted, but if they had bene invaded by the Frensh King, or any other, they would furthwith have required aide and assistence of the Kings Highnes and themperour ayenist such invasion, according to tharticle; which coude not have bene denyed unto theym. Wherfore if they in caas semblable, being required, shuld refuse to declare theymselffs enemies to the Frensh King, and to forbere to geve ayde and assistence ayenist him, in this caas they may not loke hereafter to have any succours of the King or themperour by vertue of the treatie of London, or any other like comprehension, which by such acts they expressely violate and renounce.

And thus finally they must of necessity either declare theymselffs ayenist the Frenshe King, or else expressely renounce the benefit of their comprehension. And not oonely be reputed as infractours of their promises in that behalf, but also fal consequently in enmitie with the Poope, the King, themperour, and al their confederates and alies: which mought be daungerous unto theym, as of their grete wisdomes they can right wel ponder and consider. Wheras declaring theym selff enemyes to the Frenshe King, according to tharticle by theym approved and accepted, and contynuyng in amititie with the Poope, the King, and the Emperour, it shal not ly in the powers of any other to annoye theym.

The said Secretary shal also say, that noo amitie or good intelligence can contynue betwixt the King, themperour, and theym, if they accomplish not the purporte of the said requisition. And seing the Frenshe men now to be expelled out of Italie, there is no cause why they shulde make difficultie therin, and of their retorne again they nede not fere; considering how they shal be occupied aswel on thisside, as on the frontiers of Spaigne, by puisaunt armies, as wel of
30 the Kings Highnes as of themperours. Wherfore it is most expedient for theym to incline to the King and themperours partie, in avoyding the daungier of hostilitie which may ensue unto theym by this refusal, wherby their state mought be put in daungier.

The premisses considered, it may be said, that it is more than necessarye that the said Venicians, not oonely declare theym selff as aboue, but also take and conclude with diligence summe perfite peax and amitie with themperour; considering that the treux betwixt themperour and theym shal with in brief tyme expire: and that it is pretended and alledged by the said Emperour, that they on their parte have violate and broken the said treux. Wherin the Kings Highnes is agreable to be a mediator after his best maner, for their honour and utilite: endeavouring hymself to mitigate thextreme and excessive demaunds of themperour, if any such shal fortune to be. Which thing wolde bee spedily advaunced by sending large and ample commissions, with sufficient instructions to their ambassadours, resident aswel with the King as with themperor. For the delaying and tracking of this matier may do moche harme, and prejudice sundry wises.

And in caas any motion, by way of complainte or doliaunce, shal be made unto you by the said Venecians, for discharging or exonerating their galeis with their goods and merchaudises, within the Kings realme, thinking injurye to be done unto theym, considering that the same galeis came hider under promise and assurance, as they affirme; the Kings said Secretary shal say, that themperour, at his arrival into the Kings reame, perceiving the said galeis to be right mete and commodious to be rigged and prepaired for his more assured conveyaunce into Spaigne, made especial request and instaunce unto the Kings Highnes for the discharging, prepairing, and rigging of the same galeis for the said purpose. And al beit the Kings Grace remembring the goode amitie and intelligence hiderto contynued betwixt the Kings Highnes and the said Venicians, was right loothe so to do, yet his Grace being credibly advertised sundry wises, that the Frenshe King was not oonely determined to intercepte and take the said galeis, with al the goodes and merchaundises in the same, but also to prepair and use theym in the werres ayenist the King and the said Emperour, was summewhat moved to put theym in suertie,

in avoyding such incōveniences; especially for that themperour was surely advertised, that the said Venitians had of new inforced and furnished their armies in Italie, to ayde and assist the Frenshe King for thattempting of such things in Italie, as be from him recovered to the use of the Duke of Mylayn and others by themperours army. For which cause the King thought right expedient to restrayne the same galeis unto such tyme as his Grace mought be advertised, how they woll ordre theymselff in the declaration ayenist the Frenshe King according to the requisition now to theym made, as wel by the Kings Highnes as themperour joyntly Which if they folowe in declaring theymselff ayenist Fraunce, then shal the amitie and good intelligence betwixt the King and theym stande in good strenth and vigour: wheras in refusing so to do, and contynuyng in taking the Frenshe Kings partie, they not oonely shal renounce the benefit of their comprehension, but also expressely by their acts declare theymselffs enemies unto the Kings Highnes and the said Emperour. And in that caas,
31 how the King hath cause to entreate their subgiets, galeis, and goods within his ream, they of their wisdomes can best considre.

The said Secretary shal also say, that albeit the Kings Grace mynded to use the said galeis for the purposes before touched for a brief tyme, which shulde not have bene gretely to their prejudice, yet the patrones and others, that have the rule and governaunce of the said galeys, so inhumanely and ungoodly demeaned theymselff by excessive demaundes, with exclamations and other contumelious words, that the King, being otherwise purveyed, thought moore expedient to forbere the use of theym, than to be in their daungiers. The premisses considered, the said galeis be restrayned here, til such tyme as the Kinges Grace shalbe advertised from you, what the said Venicians shal intend to do, as wel in thaccomplishment of the recognition, now by the King and themperour joyntly made, as in declaring theymselff enemies to the said Frenshe King according to tharticle of comprehension. Which thing if they refuse to do, and take the Frenshe Kings partie, the King and themperour have sufficient cause to take theym as enemyes, like as they intend to do accordingly.

In consideration of the premisses, necessary it is that ye with al diligence possible, not oonely endeavour your selff to have aunswer of theym in al and singler the premisses, and to know their resolute myndes in every poynt of these instructions, wherby they must of necessity be inforced either to declare themselff for the King and the Emperor, in which caas the amitie shal endure, and the galeis with the goods and merchaundizes be in suretie; or els in taking the Frenshe Kinges partie, to be in hostilitie, and their subgietts, galeis, and goods in daungier. And so may ye shew unto theym.

Finally, the Kings said Secretary, after he shal have advertised the Kings Highnes of such aunswer as shalbe made unto him by the said Venecians, shal remaigne and make his abode at Venice, til he shalbe advertised of the Kings pleasure in that behalf.

Number XIV.

The Bishop of Bath and Sir Anthony Brown to the Cardinal, from Paris: concerning the Cardinal's embassy to the French King, and meeting him at Amiens.

AFTER owr most humbyl recommendation: it may lyke your Grace to understond, that the fyrst day of Julye we receyvyd your Grace is lettres off the xxvii. off the last monythe: and immediatlye we roode to the Coorte; which lyithe styl at Saynct Denyse. And at owr fyrst commyng thether we sent your Grace is letter to the King by Robartet. Who shewed vs that he thowght that we cowd not convenyentlye speke with the Kyng that day. After dyner, we spake with my Ladye, and declaryd unto hyr your Grace is pleasure concernyng your settyng forwards. Wherin she answeryd vs, that in no wyse the Kyng hyr sonne wyl, that your Grace shal passe the cite of Amyas. MSS. D. G. H. Eq.

She saythe, that the Kyng her sonne, as she trustythe, is past al jopardye off this fevyr; and shal not fayll to meet with your Grace at Amyas, wher, God willyng, and none other impediment chanceying, he wilbe by the latter end off this monythe. We showid hyr how glade your Grace was to take payns, and to travayll your bodye, rather than the Kyng her sonne shold put his parson in any danger, or put off his necessarye busines. She hartilye thankid your Grace for your good will, and said, she trustyd that ther shold be no soche danger. As touching the tyme, by cause we conjecturyd by soche journais as we recounned meet for your Grace to make, that it wold be nyghe the end of Julye by foor your Grace cowd wel arriff at Amyas, we made no more stickyng therin, knowyng ryght well, that for a day or twayn, more or lesse, they will not styke heer to advance themselfe, as they shal see the progresse of your Grace is jornaye.

As touchyng the requisition to be made joyntlye by the Kinges and the French orators, off the Emperor in Spain, for the redress of soche injuries and owtragies as detestablye hath been shewyd and done to the Pope, and the see apostolique, she lykythe that overture very well; and said, that the denyall theroff, and the accumulation of that matter, with other, shal justify the intymation of warre, that shall ensue, by fore God and man: and willyd Robartet to resorte unto us for instructions therin, of that that mowght welbe wrytyn to their ambassators in Spain for that purpose; and we for his instruction have showyd him what your Grace hath wryten to the Kinges Highnes ambassators in Spayn: and he saythe that the same shalbe wrytyn to the Kyng his masters. My Lady spake also verye sore words, saying, that Christen princes cowd not of their honor soffyr ther head, Cristis Vicar, to be kept in servitude and captivite: and, that ther cowd be no cause, wherfore a prynce myght of his own aucthorite put a Pope to his rawnson, or kepe him in captivite: finally, that prynces shold withdraw their obedience from a Pope being in captivite: with many soche wordes, which we said shold be good matter to devise and treat upon at your Grace is comyng hither.

As touching the confirmation of the last treaty concluded by Mons. de Tarbe [a], she said, that our demand was reasonable: and that we shold reasort unto the Chancellor therfore: who shold depeache it out off hand.

At our return unto Paris, we went unto the Chancellor: who is answer was, that it shold be done; but he wold spek fyrst with the Kyng. Which shold be as this day, and so speed it, and send it us.

My Lady also shewyd us, that Mons. de Lotrek [b] is departyd, and right wel trymmyd and furnishid off al thynges that be necessary for his feat. As for tydings of Italy, heer is nothyng renuyd, but that the Chancellor of Spayn [c] is 33 past thorowe Piemont on his jorney to Rome wards. Thus the Almighty God preserve your Grace. From Paris, the ii. day of Julye.

Your Grace is faythful servants,

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri	Jo. Bathoniens.
Thomæ Ebor. Archiepiscopo,	Anthone Browne.
Cardinali, &c.	

Number XV.

William, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Wolsey; in behalf of his jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court, which the Cardinal's officers assumed.

PLEASYTH it your Grace to understond, that I am informyd by the frends of Jane Roper, wiff and executrice to her late husbond, John Roper, that she is called to appear afore certain of your Graces Commissaries in your chappel at Cleopatra, F. 2. fol. 210.

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[a] He was lately Ambassador from the French King into England. By whom a match was agreed upon between the King's daughter, the Lady Mary, and K. Francis, or his son the Duke of Orleans.

[b] He was a famed soldier, and General of the army in Italy against the Emperor.

[c] Going in embassy from the Emperor to the Pope.

Yorkplace; for to take upon her as executrice, or els to refuse, or to be repellyd as none executrice, and the wyl of the said John Roper to be taken as no wyl, nor she to be taken as executrice. So it is as I am informyd, that this testamentary cause was callyd afore such Commissaries as were deputed to examine soche testimentary causes as concernyd the Prerogative. Wher, by your Graces Commissaries and mine, the party thynketh that she might have had indifferent justice. And now by special labour and sinister meanys to be callyd before other Commissaries of the Prerogative, she and some other of her counsel writyth to me, that she is otherwys orderyd then according to good justice.

It is written to mee also, that in case your Grace should call al testamentary causes to special Commissaries, that finally the jurisdiction of the Prerogative should be extinctyd: and also al testamentary causes shal only depend upon your Graces pleasure, and no mannys wil to take any effect, but as it shal please your Grace.

I take God to my judge, I write none otherwyse unto your Grace, then others have written or spoken to my face. Her frynds saith also, that she desireth nothing but to be admitted as executrice to her said husbond. And in case there be any thing to be reformyd in the will of the said John Roper, she is therwith contented as the law and good conscience shal require.

I would your Grace knew what rumor and obloquy is both in these partys, and also in London, that no testaments can take effect otherwise then your Grace is content. And it hath openly be shewyd me by divers men, that it is a great trouble, vexation, and inquyetyng, to be callyd afore your Graces Commissaries and mine: and also to be callyd
34 afore your Graces special Commissaries in your said chappel, or otherwhere at your Graces pleasure. And many saith, that it is a great oversight in me, that I would make soche a composition with your Grace, which should turn so many men to trouble and vexation. I take God to my judge, I write none otherwise unto your Grace, then it hath been shewyd to my face, or else written unto me by letters. For I

find your G. so loving to me and to mine, that I do hide nothing from your G.

Finally, I beseech your G. as hartily as I can, that it may please you, that this matter may be deferryd tyl after Easter: at which tyme I shal wait upon your G. and I doubt not that by meanys of your G. and my waiting on your G. al inconvenience in this behalf may be eschued, and the partys more shortly releved, then by the process of the law. I am and alway shal be glad, that your G. use al thyng at your pleasure: but I am sure your G. wul do nothyng contrary to the composition sealed with your G^s. seal, and subscribed with your G^s. hand concerning the prerogative, which my church tyme out of mind hath be in possession of. I write plainly to your G. for I know right well your G. wyl be best content with truth and plain dealyng, or else I would not be so bold to write unto your G. in this maner, as God knowyth, who ever preserve your G. From Charing, the xxiiii^th day of February.

At your Graces commandement,
Will^m Cantuar.

Number XVI.

Another letter from the said Archbishop to the said Cardinal, of the same import.

PLEASYTH it your good G. to understond, I am informyd that your G. intendyth to interrupt me in the use of the prerogative, in the which my predecessors and I, in the right of my church of Canterbury, hath been possessed by privilege, custome and prescription, tyme out of mind. And for the interruption of the same, your G. is mindyd, as I am informyd, to depute Dr. Alan. Which if your G. should so do, consyderyng that not only al mine officers of my courts of the Arches and the Audience, but also the Commissaries of my dioces of Kent, and I my self, not only in matters of suite of instance of partys, but also in cases of correction, depending before me and them, be contynually Cleopatra, F. 2. fol. 175.

inhibityd by your officers; I should have nothyng left for me and my officers to do: but should be as a shadow and image of an Archbishop and Legate, voyd of authority and jurisdiction. Which would be to me perpetual reproch, and to my church a perpetual prejudice.

Wherfore, in as moche as I trust verily in your great goodnes, that your G. would not be so extreme against me and the right of my church before namyd, I beseech your 35 G. the premisses consideryd, to deferr and respect this matter, tyl I may have communication in thys behalf with your G. when it shal please you at your leisure. And your pleasure known, I wilbe ready to give attendance on your G. Beseechyng you also to give credence to my Chapellane Mayster Wellis this berer, in soche matters he wil show your G. on my bealf. At my manor of Croydon, the xviiith day of March.

At your Graces commandement,
Willm Cantuar.

Number XVII.

The Confession of John Tyball, a Lollard; charged with Heresy.

Confessio Johannis Tyball de Bumstede ad Turrim, facta et recognita per eundem Johannem coram reverendo in Christo patre Dno. Cuthberto London. Episcopo, in capella infra palacium London. xxviii. *die mensis Aprilis, anno Dni. millo· quingenmo·* xxviii. *Quam postea signavit.*

Foxii MSS. E Regist. Cutbert.

EXAMYNED, he saithe, that abowght vii. or viii. yeres past, he had certaine bookes of the iiii. Evangelistes in Englishe, of one holie John, and certayne Epistoles of Peter and Paule; which he brent the same day at night, as he saithe, that Sir Richard Fox [a Priest] was tached. And so in continuans of tyme, by reading of the said bookes, and specially by a chapter of Poule which he wrot to the Corynthyos, which he doth not now remember, fel into those errors and herysies. That sum tyme he thowght, that in the blessed Sacrament of thaulter is not the very body of Christe, but bred and wine, and done for a remembraunce of Christes passion. And he thowght and believyd, that a Prieste had no power to consecrate the body of Christe.

Also, he confesseth, that he hath saide, affirmed and belevyd, that every Prieste and Bishop owght to have a wiff upon the chapitour of Poule, where he saithe theis wordes, *Every Bisshop ouwgt to be husbond of one wif, and to bryng forthe childern.*

Also, he saithe, that he hathe sayd, affirmyd and belevyd, that yt was as good for a man to confesse himself alone to God, or els to any other layman, as to a Prieste, upon the saiyng of Saynt James, where he saythe, *Shew your synnes one to another.* Which error he shewid and tawght Robert Faire of Bumstede abowght a twelve monethe past.

Robert Faire.

Also, he saythe, that he hathe thowght that pristhode was not necessary. For he thowght that every layman myght mynister the sacramentes of the Churche, as well as any Priste.

Also, he confessithe, that pilgremages to images were not
profitable; and that men shold not worshippe or knele to
images in the churche; nor set up candles or lights before 36
them: for they be but stockes and stones.

Also, he saythe, that he hath sumtyme doubted, whether the Pope or Bysshopp had power to graunt pardon. For sumtyme he thowght, that they had power, and sumetyme he thowghte the contrarie, becaus they had so myche mony for it. And he sayd, he thowghte, that yt were better, that their myters, crosses, ringes and other precious stones shuld be gyven to poore and nedy pepull, then so to were them; according to the saiynge of Poule, where he saythe, *Were ye no gold, silver nor perlls, ne precious stones.*

Also, he saythe, that sayntes, as Peter, Poule and other, be in hevyn: but as for other soules of good men, which departithe this world, he thinkithe, that they go not to hevyn before the general resurrection; but be in some place of joye and plesure, except they be helpid to hevin by good prayer.

And the sowles of synners and yvell doers go to purgatory; and there remayne tyll they be delyveryd by prayers.

Sir Richard Fox.

Also, he saythe, that abowght a twelve moneth agon he did reason and dispute with Sir Richard Fox, that ther was no *purgatory*; and did hold the same for a season. Howbeit he sayth, he thowght that there was a purgatory ordayned.

Also, he hath sayd and affirmed, that *fasting* was not profitable for a man; so that he did absteine himself from synne.

Also, he saythe, that he thowghte, that the water of the see, and other rennyng water, to be of as moche power and vertue as the *holy water*: movyd by theis reason, that when Criste made the worlde, and the water, and other thynges, he *blessyd* them. Which blessing he thowght to be sufficient. And so lykewise, he thowghte, that the blessing of Criste to be sufficient for brede, and [for] al other ceremonies of the Churche.

Ebb alias Hacker.

Furthermore he saythe, that by the space of iiii. yeres past, old Father Hacker, alias Ebb, resorted to this respondentes house, and dyd commyn together of al the forsayd articles. Also he saythe, that afterward he fell in hand with Sir William Stryngar, and Sir Arthur, parishe Pristes of Bumstede; to brynge them into the herysies and errours aforesayd; and reasonyd uppon Scripture, diverse tymes with them for the same intent. For he thowghte, that yf he might bring a Priste once into his learning and heresies, he were suer and strong enowghe. Howbeit he saythe, for al his labour and reasoning with them he did perseve, that they went abowght to deceive him. And therefore he cast them upp.

Jo. Smyth.

Also, he saythe, that by the space of iii. yeres past John Smyth of Bumstede did likewise resort often to this respondentes company; and this respondent to hym: which did commyn of the sacramentes of thaulter, and of other articles before rehersed.

Furthermore, he saythe, that abowght ii. yeres agon he companyed with Sir Richard Fox Curate of Bumstede, and shewid hym al his bookys that he had: that is to say, the New Testamente in Englishe, the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in Englishe: which he had of John Pykas of Colchester: and a book expoundyng the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Credo;* certain of Powles Epistoles in Englishe, after thold translation; the iiii. Evangelists in Englishe. 37 The which iiii. Evangelists and Powles Epistoles he brent, as he sayd before; and the residew he cannot tell wher they be; except Sir Richard Fox, John Hilles, or John Chapman, servantes to Christofer Ravyn of Wytham, have them. And so in processe of tyme by reasonyng of thynges, contayned in the sayd bookes, and disputing and instructyng, he browght Sir Richard Fox to his lerning and opynions.

Also, he saythe, that afterwards, that Sir Richad Fox was infected with his errors and heresyes, this respondent, Sir Rich. Fox, and John Smyth, this last yere went to Colchester-ward: and the first night lay at Mother Beckwythe: and the morrow after dyner, at William Beckwythe: which were both of kynde to this respondent. And thither came old Cristmas of Bockyng; and another woman with him. And where there were any communicacyon of any articles in the sayd places, or where the sayd Mother Beckwith, William Beckwith or old Cristmas be of the same secte, he cannot tell. And afterward they went to Colchester; and souped at John Pycas hous. Wheras they iiii. communyd together of many and diverse articles, which he doth not now remember. And at the same nyght lay at Thomas Matthew. Where as William Pykas in ther chambre before this respondent, John Smythe, and Sir Rich. Fox, did reherse by hart a disputation made, betwixt a Clerke and a Frear.

Mother Beckwythe.

Old Cristmas.

W. Pykas.

J. Smyth.

Furthermore, he saythe, that in somer last, when he was first in Johnson's house in Boxstede, the sayd Sir Rich. Fox did openlye rede in a booke, called The Wicket, which he had ther as he belevythe, before this respondent, John Smythe, Johnson and his wif, sometyme gyving hering to yt, as he rembrethe. Which book the sayd Sir Richard had to Bum-

Johnson de Boxstede, ejus uxor.

stede with him. And afterward, that they red in the same book. A question was movyd by Johnson, or his wyf, as he remembred, of the Father, the Son and the Holie Gost. The question he cannot tell, ne of the answere made therunto by Sir Rich. Fox. And he saithe, that he belevythe, that the sayd Johnson and his wif be of the same lernyng and sect. And Johnson is taken for a lernyd man among them. Also, he saithe, that John Pykas, William Pykas, John Gyrling, John Bradeley, be of the same sect and lernyng. And as for Thomas Mathwes wif he cannot tell.

Joh. Gyrling. Joh. Bradley.

Item, he saithe, that a yere past, or more, he resorted ons to Alice Gardiner, his godmother, to her owne house. Which Alice asked this respodent, whether he wold go to Ipiswiche with her. And this respondent sayd, Nay, nay. If you have any wast money, give yt to poore pepull: and tarye at home: for it shal not skyll to go on pilgremages to Ipiswiche. For there ys money enowghe. To the which answere sche did not greatly speke ayenst, nor gretly holde withal, as he saythe.

Alice Gardyner.

Also, he saythe, that abowght a iii. yeres past, he communyd with Thomas Parker of the Gospellys in Englishe, in the said Thomas Parkers house. And otherwyse he cannot tell.

Also he saythe, Thomas Hilles taylour, John Chapman, John Wyggan of Wytham, Robert Fayre, and John Smythe of Bumstede, hath commyned with this respondent in al the forsayd articles; and be of the same sect and lernyng.

38 Furthermore, he saythe, that at Mychaelmasse last past was twelve monethe this respondent and Thomas Hilles came to London to Frear Barons, then being at the Freers Augustines in London, to buy a New Testament in Englishe, as he saythe. And they found the sayd Freer Barons in his chamber; wheras there was a merchant man, reading in a boke, and ii. or iii. more present. And when they came in, the Frear demawnded them, from whence they cam. And they said, from Bumstede; and so forth in communication they desyred the sayd Freer Barons, that thy myght be aquaynted with hym; because they had herd that he was

Freer Barons.

a good man; and bycause they wold have his cownsel in the New Testament, which they desyred to have of hym. And he saithe, that the sayd Frear Barons did perseve very well, that Thomas Hilles and this respondent were infected with opinions, bycause they wold have the New Testament. And then farther they shewyed the sayd Frear, that one Sir Richard Fox Curate of Bumstede, by ther means, was wel entred in ther lernyng; and sayd, that they thowghte to gett hym hole in shorte space. Wherfore they desyryd the sayd Frear Barons to make a letter to hym, that he wold continew in that he had begon. Which Frear did promyse so to wryte to hym a letter at afternoone, and to gete them a New Testament. And then after that communication, the sayd Thomas Hilles and this respondent shewyd the Frear Barons of certayne old bookes that they had: as of iiii. Evangelistes, and certayne Epistles of Peter and Poule in Englishe. Which bookes the sayd Frear dyd litle regard, and made a twyte of it, and sayd, A poynt for them, for they be not to be regarded toward the new printed Testament in Englishe. For it is of more cleyner Englishe. And then the sayd Frear Barons delyverid to them the sayd New Testament in Englyshe: for which they payd iii*s.* ii*d.* and desyred them, that they wold kepe yt close. For he wolde be loth that it shold be knowen, as he now remembreth. And after the delyverance of the sayd New Testament to them, the sayd Frear Barons dyd lyken the New Testament in Latyn to a cymball tynkklyng, and brasse sowndyng. But what farther exposytion he made uppon it, he cannot tell. And then at afternone they fett the sayd letter of the sayd Frear; whiche he wrote to Sir Richard; and red that openly before them: but he doth not now remember what was in the same. And so departed from hym; and did never since speke with hym, or write to hym, as he saithe.

Also, he saithe, that abowght a half year agone, he delyverid the sayd New Testament to Frear Gardyner: which he never had ageyne.

Farthermore he saith, that Elene Tyball his mother, and Alice Tyball his wif, be gyltie in al the foresaid articles:

except his wif is not giltie in the Sacrament of thaulter: which both he tawght and instructed.

Frear Medow in apostasia existent.

Item, he saith, that about v. yere agon he was confessid of one Frear Medow, beyng a Grey Frear of Colchestre, and ther professed, and borne in Essex. Which Frear, after he herd his confession, desyred the respondent to help hym owt of his religion. And so at last the sayd Frear came home to the respondents house, in a secular man his rayment, whose hed this respondent dyd then shave: and kept him in his house by the space of iiii. days, or ther about: and then departed from hym, and went to Amersham. And synce this
39 respondent hath herd say, that he is marryed to a mayden of Colchestre. Whose servant or dowghter she is, he cannot tell.

Also, he saith, that he hath communed with Edmund Tyball, and shewid hym his lernyng often tymes.

The mark of John Tyball.

Abjuratio istius sequitur in fol. prox. sequent.

Number XVIII.

The Abjuration of Thomas Bowgas, before Tunstal Bishop of London.

MSS. Foxii. Regist. Cuthb.

IN the name of God, Amen. I Thomas Bowgas of the parishe of Saynt Leonards of the towne of Colchestre, of the diocesse and jurisdiction of London, fuller: before yow, right reverent Father in God, Lord Cuthbert Byshop of London, my Ordinary, confessyng and knowlegyng the true, catholycke, and apostolique faith of holy Church; intend by the grace of God, hereafter ever to persever and abyde in the true doctrine of the same: and do detest and abjure al maner of heresies, contrary to the same: and most especially those heresies and articles followying: wheruppon I am now detected, vehemently suspected and convicted. That is to say, That a man shuld have no neede to go on pilgremage to Saynt Thomas of Canterbury, or to owr Lady of Grace. Also, that there is no other Churche of God, but man his conscyence. Also, that I had as leve be buryed in my own house as in the churche. Also, that I wold that owr Lady of Grace were in my bakehouse. Also, that when it was demaunded of me, whether it was evyll or wel done, to sett a taper before the sepulchre; I awnswered and said, it was nothing, but to sett a candell before the Devyll, for vayne glory of the worlde, as I and many other foolis doth. Also, that if I had the crucifix, the image of our Lady, and other saynets and crosses set by the way, in a ship, I wold drowne them every one in the see.

And in these articles, and al other, I here expresly consent unto our Mother, the holy Churche; and to the true doctrine of the same. And do knowledge, that whosoever hereafter doth hold or affirme any of thies articles, or eny other heresies, contrary to the determination of holy Church, is worthy to be excluded from the communion of the same.

And in case hereafter I do speke, hold, or affirme any of thies foresaid heresies, errors and opinions, or other, contrary to the determination of holy Church, which by the grace of God I intend never to do, I submytt my self unto the correction of my Ordinary, accordyng to the holy canons.
And for thies my trespasses and offences, I desire you of 40
penaunce: which I promyse by thies holy Evangelies, here by me bodyly touched, truly to do, observe and fullfyl. In wittenes whereof to this my present abiuration, I have subscrybed my name, and set the signe of the crosse.

Be me Thomas Boges off Colchester.

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Quarto die mensis Maii, anno Dni. mill^{o} *quingenti*^{mo} xxviii^{o} *in capella infra manerium reverendi Patris Norwicen. Epi. juxta Charyng Crosse, London. coram reverendo in Christo Patre et Dno. Dno. Cuthberto permissione Divina*

London. Epo. judicialiter, et pro tribunali seden. comparuit præfatus Thomas Bowgas. quem Dns. sepe exhortatus est et admonuit, quatenus se submittat, et errores suos recognoscat. Et tunc dictus Thomas Bowgas se tandem submisit, et asseruit se contentum esse abjurare hereses et opiniones suas; et ad unitatem Ecclesie redire, et se submittere. Et deinde legit presentem abjurationem superscriptam, tactis per eum sacrosanctis Dei Evangeliis, prout continetur in eadem, quam postea manu suá subscripsit, et signo crucis signavit. Quo facto dictus reverendus Pater absolvit dictum Thomam Bowgas à sententia excommunicationis, quam premissorum pretextu incurrerat, in forma juris, prout in scedulam ad tunc per dictum reverendum Patrem lecta: ac in fol. cxvii° *inserta continetur. Et eidem ad sancta Dei Evangelia jurato injunxit sub pena relapsi, quod die Dominico,* x° *viz. die mensis Maii prox. ibid. ante crucem nudus caput, in processione in ecclesia paroch. Sancti Leonardi apud Hitham juxta Colcestriam, ubi parochianus existit, portans fasciculum lignorum in humero suo. Et functa processione audiet altam missam genibus flexis super gradibus chori sacerd. celebrantem, à principio usque ad finem ejusdem; et tunc recedat.*

Et injunxit eidem, quod non gerat aliquam maliciam sive odium contra testes in hac parte productos; aut eosdem molestet, seu perturbet quoquo modo. Et quod certificet de penitentia per eum peracta, personaliter, vel per literas Curati sui, infra xv. *dies extunc prox. sequent. Et deinde interrogatus per dictum reverendum, dixit se velle subire penitentiam sibi injunctam. Presentibus tunc ibid., venerabili viro Mro. Galfrido Wharton Cancellario, Willo. Layton Regrario principali, Dno. Thoma Chambre Capellano; necnon Mag. Skelton, Marmaduco Tunstal, Generosis; et Georgio Bedyll, Thoma Pilkyngton, Thoma Dowman, Antonio Tunstal, Nicho. Tunstal, Willo. Westwray, et Humfrido Odyngsalis, Literatis, testibus, et cet.*

Number XIX.

41

The Abjuration of William Bocher, before Cuthbert Bishop of London.

MSS. Fox. ubi supra.

IN the name of God, Amen. I William Bocher of the parish of Steple Bumstede, of the diocesse and jurisdiction of London, plowwright, before the right reverend Father in God, Lord Cuthbert Bishop of London, my Ordinary, opynly confesse, that I have belevyd, that in the blessed Sacrament of thaulter is not the very body of Christ, but done for a remembrance of Cristes passion. Also, that *pardons* cannot profit, ne help a man. Also, that a man shal have no nede to go pilgremage.

Wherfore I do now professe and knowledge, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Aulter is the very body of Criste in form of bred. And farthermore in that, and al other, do consent to our Moder, the holy and catholyck Churche. Intendyng hereafter for evermore fastly to abyde in the faithe of the same. And do detest and abiure thies foresayd heresyes in special: and al other in general.

And in case hereafter I shal hold, affirme, or beleve any of thies heresies, or other, contrary to the determination of our Moder, the holy Churche aforesayd, I do submitt my self to the correction of the holy canons: and do promyse unto Almyghty God, our Moder the holy Churche, and you my said Ordinary, and swere by thies holy Evangelies, here by me bodyly touched, that I hereafter shal not hyde, or kepe close any heresies, or dampnable opinions, nor ther auctors, in tyme to come, nor be conversant, or familiar wyttyngly with any person, or persons suspect of heresie. But when that I shal know any such person or persons, I shal truly detect them with ther heresies and opinions to ther Ordinaries, assone as I conveniently may. Submyttyng me most mykely to our Moder holy Churche, and you my said Ordinary: and desire absolution and penance for thies my offences; which I promyse to do, observe, and fulfill. In witnes wherof to this my present abiuration, I have set to the sign of the crosse. —|—

Undecimo die mensis Maii, anno Dni. mill^{o} quingenti^{mo}

xxviii^o^ *in capella infra manerium reverendi Patris Norwicen. Epi. juxta Charyng Crosse, London. coram reverendo in Christo Patre, et Dno. Dno. Cuthberto, permissione Divina, London . . . . . .*

Nota, quod iste oritur ex stirpe vitiata: quia avus patris sui erat ob heresim concrematus, ut dicitur.

42

Number XX.

The Confession of Robert Hemsted.

*Undecimo die mensis Maii, anno Dni. mill^o.^ quingenti^mo.^* xxviii^o.^ *coram reverendo in Christo Patre, et Dno. Dno. Cuthberto, permissione Divina, London. Epo. judicialiter sedent. in capella infra manerium reverendi Patris Norwic. Epi. juxta Charyng Crosse, London. comparuit Robertus Hemstede parochie de Bumstede ad Turrim, London. dioc. de heretica pravitate suspectus et detectus. Et submisit se correctioni dict. reverendi Patris: et asseruit se plenè et fideliter respondisse articulis eid. objectis, juxta tenorem responsionum sequen. quas coram eo presente lectas recognovit. Et deinde legit abjurationem.*

MSS. Fox. ubi supra.

HEE confessith, that in somer last past, Sir Richard Fox, John Tyball, John Smyth, and Frere Topley, came to this respondent's house; and caused hym to go with them to a grene, called Hersted Grene. And there they told this respondent of many thyngs, which he doth not now remember. And Frear Topley sayd to this respondent, if he did not beleve as they did teche, he was no true Christen man.

Also, he saithe, at Lent last, he was confessid of the sayd Sir Rich. Fox, Curat of Bumstede. And when the said Sir Richard had herde this respondentes confession, he axskyd hym, how he did beleve in the Sacrament of thaulter: and then this respondent awnswered, and said as other men doth, That in the blessed Sacrament of thaulter is the very body of Criste. To whom the said Sir Richard said, Nay, thou must not do so. For that is not the best way; but beleve thou in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and not in the Sacrament of thaulter. And then this respondent said to the forenamyd Sir Richard, I fear me ye go about to bryng me in the takyng, that the men of Colchester be in. To whom the said Sir Richard awnswered, What, man, art thou afrayde? Be not aferd. For those serve a better Maister, then ever thou diddest. And so at last, by the motion and techyng of the said Sir Richard; and because he was Prist, this respondent thought, and belevyd, that in the blessed Sacrament of thaulter is not the very body of Criste.

Also he confessith, that by the space of this iij. yeres last, or thereabout, this respondent hath thowght, that *pardons* are of no effect, ne cannot profect.

Interrogatus, an novit aliquos ejusd. secte, dicit, quod non, nisi Johannem Tyball, Johannem Smith, et Frem. Thomam Topley, ac Dnum. Ric. Fox.

Number XXI.

43

The Confession of Thomas Hemsted.

Undecimo die mensis Maii MDXXVIII. in capella infra manerium reverendi Patris Norwicen. &c. ut supra.

HE confessith, that abowght a yere and half past, this respondents wif tawght hym, the *Paternoster, Ave Maria,* and *Credo,* in Englishe. Which sche lernyd of Gilbert Shipwright, being ded; and councelyd hym, that he shold kepe it close. And in a while after he was chosen Church Warden of Bumstede with John Tyball. And then used the company moch of Sir Richard Fox, and the said Tyball. And when the sayd Sir Richard and Tyball had percevid that his wyf had towght hym the *Paternoster, Ave Maria,* and the *Credo,* they did call this respondent *brother in Crist,* and *a knowne man.* And so by the space of a yere, or more, last past, he have ben conversant and famylyar, and usyd ther company, and have herd ther lectures, redyngs and techyngs; and hath at no tyme disclosed them, nor ther counsell.

MSS. Fox. ubi supra.

Fox. Tyball.

T. Hilles. Also, he confessith, that abowght Schroftyde last, Thomas Hilles tawght and shewyd this respondent, that *pardons* were nowght, and not profitable for a man. The which this respondent saithe, that sumtyme he thowght and belevyd, that it was trew.

Also, that abowght Fastyngham last, Sir Richard Fox shewid this respondent, that in the blessid Sacrament of thaulter is not the very body of Criste; but doon for a remembraunce of Cristis passion. Which sayinges he thowght and belevyd to bee trew, by the techyng and schewyng of the sayd Sir Richard. And since that tyme hath continued in the sayd error and heresie.

Also, that gooyng on pilgremages were of no effect; and that a man shold have no nede to go on pilgremagis.

Also he saith, that all thies persons followyng be of the same sect and lernyng; and have herd the lectures, redynges and techynges of Sir Richard Fox, John Tyball, Frear Gardyner, and other of the same sect: and have had communications with them, and be taken and reputed, as *known persons*, that is to say, they be infected and gyltie of al ther errors and articles.

Edmond Tyball. uxor ejus.
Johan Bocher, widow.
Uxor Georgii Preston.
Johanna Hempsted, uxor hujus respondentis.
Johannes, filius ejus naturalis.
Robertus Faire. Laici de Bumstede.
Johannes Wyggen
Thomas Topley
Willielmus Gardyner } *Fres. Ordinis Augustinen. de Clara, Lond.*
Johannes Chapman
Thomas Hilles } *de Wytham.*
Willielmus Browne
Johannes Craneford } *de Bumstede.*

Number XXII. 44

The Confession of Robert Necton, that bought and sold New Testaments in English.

MSS. Fox. ubi supra.

HE bowght at sondry tymes of Mr. Fyshe dwellyng by the Whight Frears in London, many of the New Testaments in English; that is to say, now V. and now X. And sometyme mo, and sometyme less, to the nombre of XX. or XXX. in the gret volume. The which New Testaments the said Mr. Fyshe had of one Harmond, an English man, beyng beyond see. But how many he had this respondent cannot tell. And this respondent saith, that about a yere and half agon he fell in a quaintaunce with Vicar Constantyne here in London. Which shewed this respondent first, that the said Mr. Fyshe had New Testaments to sell; and caused this respondent to by some of the said New Testaments of Mr. Fyshe. And the said Mr. Fyshe, at the desire and instance of Vicar Constantine, browghte the said New Testaments home to this respondents house. And before that Vicar Constantine caused this respondent to by some of the said New Testaments, he had none, nor no other books, except the chapiters of Matthew.

Constantine.

And moreover, this respondent saith, that about the same tyme he sold fyve of the said New Testaments to Sir William Furboshore synging man, in Stowmarket in Suffolk, for VII. or VIII. grotes a pece. Also, two of the same New Testaments in Bury St. Edmonds: that is to say, to Raynold Wodelesse one; and Thomas Horfan another, for the same price.

Pycknam Wade, Norwic. dioc.

Also, he saith, that about Cristmas last, he sold one New Testament to a Priste; whose name he cannot tell, dwellyng at Pycknam Wade in Northfolke; and two Latin books, the one *Oeconomica Christiana;* and the other *Unio Dissidentium.* Also, one Testament to William Gibson merchaunt man, of the parish of S. Margaret Patens.

Also, Vicar Constantyne at dyvers tymes had of this respondent about a XV. or XVI. of the New Testaments of the biggest. And this respondent saith, that the sayd Vicar

Constantyne dyvers tymes bowght of him certayne of the sayd New Testaments: and this respondent lykewise, of hym. Also, he sold Sir Richard Bayfell two New Testaments unbound, about Cristmas last; for the which he payd iii*s*. iiii*d*.

Farthermore, he saith, that he hath sold V. or VI. of the said N. Testaments to diverse persons of the cite of London: whose namys, or dwellyng places, he doth not remember.

Moreover, he saith, that since Easter last, he bowght of Geffray Usher of Saynct Antonyes, with whom he hath byn aqueynted by the space of a yere, or therabout (by reason he was Mr. Forman, the person of Hony Lane his servant, and for that this respondent did moche resort to the said persons sermons) XVIII. N. Testaments in English of the smal volume, and XXVI. books, al of one sort, called *Oeconomica Christiana* in Latin; and two other books in Latin, called *Unio Dissidentium.* For which he payed hym XL*s*. Of the which *Oeconomica Christiana* Vicar Constantyne had XIII. at one tyme.

45 And of which N. Testaments since Easter this respondent caryed XV. of them, and thother XXIII. *Oeconomica Christiana*, to Lynne, to sell. Which he wold have sold to a young man, callid William . . . . . merchant man, dwellyng by one Mr. Burde of the same towne. Which young man wold not medle with them, because they were prohibite. And so this respondent left the said books at Lynne with the said William, untyll his retornyng thider ayen. And so the said bookes do remayne ther still, as yet. And two of the said N. Testaments he hath in his own custodie, with another of the great volume. Also, another Testament of the smal volume he sold since Easter to young Elderton, merchant man, of Saynct Mary Hill parishe.

Howbeit he saith, that he knew not that any of thies bookes were of Luthers sect.

To the XVIII^th^, That he hath byn a *receptor*, he saith, that he twice or thryese hath byn in Thomas Mathews house of Colchestre. Wheras he hath red diverse tymes in the N. Testament in English, before the said Thomas

Matthew, his wif, William Dykes, and other servantes ther. And there, and then have herd old Father Hacker speke of prophesies; and have had communications of diverse articles; which he doth not now remember.

To the XIX^th, so begynnyng, *That he went about to by a great nombre of N. Testaments*, he saith, that about Cristmas last, there came a Duche man, beyng now in the Flete, which wold have sold this respondent ii or iii hundreth of the said N. Testaments in English: which this respondent did not by; but sent him to Mr. Fyshe to by them: and said to the Duche man, Look what Mr. Fyshe doth, I wil do the same. But whether Mr. Fyshe bowght any of them, he cannot tell: for the which iii hundreth he shold have paid XVI*l.* *Vsh.* after IX*d.* a pece.

To the XX article, *That he is inframed;* he saith, that since Easter last, he was at Norwiche at his brothers house, wher as one had complayned of this respondent to my Lord of Norwiche, because he had a N. Testament. Wherfor his brother counceled this respondent to send or delyver his said N. Testament; and said to him, If he wold not delyver it, my Lord of Norwiche wold send him to my Lord of London, his Ordinary. And so afterwards he sent it to London by the caryer.

To the XXI. article, so begynnyng, *That contrary to the prohibition, he hath kept the N. Testament*, he confessith, that after he had knowledge of the condempnation of the said N. Testament, by the space of a yere, or more, he hath had in his custodie, kept, and studyed the same Testament, and have red it thoroughly many tymes. And also have red in it as wel within the citie and diocess of London, as within the citie and diocesse of Norwiche. And not onely red it to himself, but redd and tawght it to diverse other.

To the XXII. he awnsweryth and denyeth, that he had Wycliefs Wycket or the Apocalips at any tyme.

Per me Robert Necton.

46

Number XXIII.

Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Dr. Gardiner, and Dr. Fox, the King's Ambassadors with the Pope, to Cardinal Wolsey.

Foxii MSS.

PLEASITH it your Grace to understand, that appointed to repaire unto the Popes Holynes for our first audyence upon Munday last past at after dynner; after access to his presence in to his privy bed chamber, fyndyng hym accompanied with the Cardynall De Radulphis, after reverence and ceremonies accustumed, we delyvered the Kings Highnes and your Graces letters unto him, with most humble and lowly recommendations on the Kings and your Graces behaulf. And to shew unto your Grace the circumstances of his Holynes behavior unto us, incontinently as he had redd the said letters, his Holynes shewed unto us theffect and contynue of them in veray compendious and wel couched words; *et continuata oratione*, without suffering us to speak, began to repete the Kings grete benefits towards him and the see apostolique; and especially in the time of his captivitie; and how moche he and the see was and is obstringed and bound to your Grace, by whos procurement, solicitation and mediation, such things hath been alwayes set forth, as might conferre unto the same. Adding therunto of what mind and intention, as wel *in minoribus*, as also synnes his erection to this dignitie, his Holynes hath been, and is, to do al thing that might be to the good satisfaction and contentment of the Kings Highnes, and now specially in this cawse, towching so neer the quyetnes and tranquillitie of the Kings conscience, with the welth and commoditie of that realme: and many such words spoken, as we might judge, as those which proceded sincerely from the bottom and roote of his hart and mynde: willing us fynally, without any circumstance of words, famylyarly to entre with him into communication of the essential points of our charge. Wherin he wold geve such resolution without tract or delay, as we could reasonably desire, and as might be agreeable with law and equite, for justification of his doing, and mayntenance of his, and the Kings honour hereafter.

At this point his Holynes making a pawse, I Steven Gardyner said, " That it was wel known and persuaded to " the Kings Highnes and your Gr. of the gret zeal, love, " and affection that his Holynes bearith towards them both, " and the wealth of that realm of England, wherof now of " late the Kings Highnes and your Gr. hath had advertise- " ment, as wel by sondry the letters of Sir Gregory de " Cassalis, as also the reaport and relation of Maister Se- " cretary [a], and more amply by the mouth of the Protho- " notary Gambara. Who not only exhibited unto the " Kings Highnes a commission, and dispensation passed " by your Holynes in the Kings gret matter, but also added " therunto, as of special credence from your Holines, that " if the same wer in any point thought insufficient, or that " by thadvice of lerned men any other thing could be de- " vysed to be added therunto, with all such rescripts, " breves, and bullys as might conduce to the effectual de- " finition and determination of the matter, your Holines " wold therin without delay or difficultie, interpone the ut- 47 " termost of your authorite; as in the favour of him, who " hath, by his manifold merits, deserved to perceyve and " take al benefits and graces of the see apostolique, as may " stand and be agreeable to equite and justice. Wherfore, " albeit the said commission and dispensation be in some " material points altered from the mynute and forme by the " Kings Highnes required and desired, and by reason therof " cannot fully serve for the acheving of the Kings desire " and intent: yet forasmuch as in exhibiting the same, it " was added, as afore, by the said Prothonotary Gambara, " and also confirmed by Sir Gregories letters, that if the " said commission and dispensation were not thought suf- " ficient, al defawlts shold be supplyed and refourmed, and " the same newly to be graunted accordingly. Which is a " manifest argument, and evident token of your Holines " sincere proceding herin. The Kings Highnes geveth " unto your Holines no less thanks, then if the same had

[a] Dr. Knight.

" been passed in most available fourm and maner." And herupon inferred the cawse of our comyng towching first the Popes particular matters, and shewyng the Kings mynd and intention: declaring also what answer we had in the French Court: added therunto your Graces labours, travayl, and payn in fashionyng and setting forth these things, for satisfaction and contentation of his Holines, with the conservation and mayntenance of the see apostolique; and rights of the same. And from declaration of the particularities of that matier, extending at length the good and fast mind and intention of the Kings Highnes *adhærere sanctitati suæ in prosperis et adversis*, now by these good demonstrations on his Holynes behaulf depelyer rooted and confirmed, descended from that to the Kings matier, according to our instructions, shewed the Kings request and desire: omitting here to write unto your Gr. the maner, forme, and ordre of the words, forasmoche as the same is not to be commytted to wryting, but in cyfre, as we think *in presenti rerum statu*. And spending the day half with the Pope, and thother half with the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, oonles we should too long diffre sendyng of our letters, we cannot commyt the same to wryting.

The Popes Holynes, when he harde at good length what was said, noting diligently the particularities, first, as concerning his own matiers he said, the Kings Highnes and your Gr. doth therin as his trust and expectation was, in whom *omnem spem suam semper reposuit;* and hath hitherto found al things *expectationi cumulatissime respondisse*. And where according to the instructions it was towched, that albeit such promise were now made, yet his Holynes must be content to dissemble, and kepe the same secrete, tyl al things were in Italy componed and pacified. His Holines said formally these words, " That according to his duty, he " is, and hath been moch more studious of the common " wealth of Chrystendom, then his own particular affaires, " myndyng evermore so to considre and regard them, as " therby be not empeched or hindred the state and condition " of the common cause. Wherfore geving most hartie

" thanks to the Kings Highnes and your said Gr. his " Holynes said, he wold follow your advise and counsail " therin." And so passing over that mater without further inquisition, as though that wer not the thing he had so much to hart, as the furtherance and setting forth of the Kings cause, he began to answer to that. And where as according to thinstructions it was declared, how your Gr. being advertised, that his Ho. somewhat stayed in expedition of the 48 Kings desire, for that it was shewed him, that mater was set forth without your Gr. consent or knowledge; wherfore your Gr. willed us, after protestation made on your Gr. behaulf of your sincerite in that matier, to shew and open your mynde, as wel concernyng the merits of the cause, as also the qualities of the gentlewoman: hereunto his Ho. made answer, " That neither such protestation " neded unto him, who inwardly knowith your Gr. quali" ties, ne he can think in the Kings H. who hitherto above " al other things hath estemed his honor, any undue affec" tion in a matier of so high importance. The perillys and " jeopardies wherof towards God no man can better discusse " and judg, than his Majestie. Whose opinion, mynde and " sentence he wold soner lean unto, then any other lerned " mannys. Saying, that the Kings Highnes reasons must " nedes be of gret efficacie, strength and sufficiencie, wherby " this matier might be ruled and ordred, considering his " excellent wisdom, profound lerning, and mature judg" ment. Al which, he doubteth not, have concurred to the " setting forth of this matier: desiring therfore to see and " read the Kings labour and study in this mater."

And as touching that was said, that your Gr. should not have been made privy therunto, he said, " Although it was " so reaported unto him, yet he never stedfastly beleved it, " ne could utterly persuade unto himself, that any thing " shold be set forth of so high consequence without your " Gr. advice and counsail; whose high wisdome, policie " and dexterite he wel knowith to have moch furthered the " Kings H. and the affaires of al other Princes, to what " part soever the same have inclyned: not doubting but

“ the Kings H. like as he hitherto hath doon, so he doth
“ and wil do from henceforth, perceiving these gret gifts,
“ vertues and qualities in your Gr. to use the same in al
“ his doyngs: and in consideration of them no less esteme
“ your Gr. then the having of an heyre to succede him in
“ his realm.” These were the Popes formal words, as nere
as we could note the same. Wherunto his Ho. added,
“ That such reaport, although as is afore rehersed, it sank
“ not depely in his mynde, yet, to say the trewth, it stayed
“ him, and made him doubt in the mater, with desire to be
“ ascertained of the truth in that behaulf; as he is now
“ very glad to hear the same reaported so largely by our
“ mouths. Concluding finally, that for alteration of the
“ commission, and passing it in other form, he wold regard
“ nothing, but the Kings honour, and of the see aposto-
“ lique. Which two were so conjoyned in this cause, as that
“ towcheth the oon must nedes towch and perteyn to thother.
“ Saying farthermore that herin his Ho. wold use no tract
“ ne delay, but be content to take paynes from day to day,
“ and only entende to the expedition of this cause: ap-
“ pointing us to repare again the next day. At which
“ tyme he wold with us read the Kings boke: and so in-
“ formed of the reasons, consult with us and the Cardinal
“ Sanctorum Quatuor, how and in what form the commission
“ should pass.” Which for that tyme being nere night, we
thought sufficient answer concernyng that matier.

And forasmuch as your Gr. by letters sent by Thaddéus, willed us at our comyng to the Pope, in openyng our charge to the same concerning the mediation of peace be-
49 tween princes, and how the Kings H. is wel content his Ho. send Legates to the Kings H., themperor and the French King, of componyng the peace, shold by some good occasion infer mater, wherupon the Popes Ho. might be induced, as of himself, to set forth an overture to the Fr. King of abstinence on that side the mounteynes for this purpose; after his Ho. by way of famylyar intertenement had shewed us of the cruelty of the Spanyards at Rome, and what destruction of howses they made there, trusting to

have found treasure hyden: passing from that communication to the present state of Italy, and therupon inferring *ambiguum exitum belli*, the Popes Ho. also sumwhat mystrusting lest the Spanyards wold *detrectare pugnam*, and divide themselff in townes and fortresses, to delaye and delude Mounsr. de Lautreks purpose: trusting in putting over battail, to wery their enemyes, and charge gretely the confederates in the mean season: which was a thing gretly to be feared: we said, God forbid it shold so be: and that upon trust and hope this wer shold shortly be at a point, it is capitulate betwen the Kings H. and the French King to make actual werre in Flaundres; and how for that purpose gret preparations was and is made in England, with trust that the French King wil, as the treaties purporte, send a gret puissance thither. Wherfore if the werre shold stil continue here, and thenemies not exterminate bifore that time; peradventure, *divisa virtus minus valeret.*

Wherfore we said unto his Ho. that your Gr. pondering this mater, and as a devout membre of the Chirch, tendering the quyetnes of these parties, to thintent your Ho. lyving out of fear and daunger of these cruel people, might entend to the reparation and restitution of the see apostolique, have by your letters willed us to say unto his Ho. the same to be spoken in such wise, as it shold neither come to the French Kings, ne the Kings H. knowledge, (who entendyth in the most ernest maner to press themperor in al parties) that if for the purpose bifore specyfyed his Ho. by his Legate, wold set forth an overture of an abstinence on that side the mountaynes, as of himself, your Gr. wold gladly furdre the same. Hereunto his Ho. gave no direct answer; but said, it was a matier worthy to be dreamed and slept on. And his Ho. said he wold so do. And so passing from this communication to such newes as wer then come from the army, we departed for that night.

I Sir Gregory think, that it hath been persuaded to the Pope, as I know many here to be of the opinion, that there is no way to delyver Italy of war, but to commence it in some other place. Which, as I have at diverse other tymes said unto the Popes Ho. seemeth to procede of them that do not wel considre, ne pondre the circumstances, the state of the world, what charge this army is at here to the French King, and how hard it wilbe for the French King to fornish his nombre capitulate with the Kings H. which cannot find mony to kepe at al tymes just payes for this army, wherunto concurreth the help of other confederates.

Thus departing for that night from the Popes Ho. we entended to have repared that night to the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, but that it was too late. The Cardinal Anconitane and the Cardinal de Ravenna be not here. But we have sent their letters unto them, trusting they wil the sooner repare hither, and afore their tyme appoynted: which is to return within this fortnight.

50 The next day at afternoon we went, as was appointed, to the Popes Ho. and exhibited unto him the Kings boke. Which his Ho. incontinently began to rede: and standing a while, and after sitting upon a forme covered with a pece of an old coverlet, not worth xx*d.* holding the boke, redd over the pistel bifore, and the latter part of the book towching the law, without suffering any of us to help him therin. Noting evermore the reasons, as oon succeeded another, and objecting that which his Ho. saw afterward answered. Which doon, his Ho. gretly commended the boke, and said he wold for a day kepe it with him, to thintent he might by himself at good leysure rede, as wel the first part, as also the second part again. And forasmoch as the pistle was directed to your Gr. and the other Prelates, his Ho. demaunded for thanswer made therunto, as the Kings H. requireth in thend of his epistel. We said, that noon answer was made in writing; but of what sort the answer was, his Ho. might perceyve by your Gr. letters: and such words as we had spoken unto him on your Gr. behaulf. And so seemyng to be right wel content therwith, his Ho. demaunded, whether the Kings H. had at any tyme broken this mater to the Quene, or not. We said, Yes, and that she shewed herself content to stand to the judgment of the Church.

From this question, his Ho. descended to the maner of proceding of this mater, and how the same requyred celerite: and therupon called in doubt, whether your Gr. shold be refused as suspecte. For that answering to the Kings epistole in his boke, and declaring your mynde therupon, and so in maner geving sentence before hand, your Gr. cannot be called indifferent hereafter. We said, that in this mater wer two things to be considered. First, the law, if the fact be true. And second, to know whether the fact be true, or no. Your Gr. sentence hath passed you openly but only on the oon side; which is, that the fact being true, the law shold by such reasons, as be alleged, seme to enclyne to that part. Which lettith not but that his Ho. may yet commyt unto your Gr. indifferent knowlege of the fact, sending a commission decretal *in eventum veritatis facti allegati*, defining the law. Herewith his Ho. semed satisfyed. Unto whom it was said, that for avoiding al such lets, it was devised there, that a clause shold be put in the commission, *remota recusatione et appellatione*. Wherunto his Ho. assented.

Finally, concerning the commission, it was then too late to read it. And his Ho. willing us to leave it there with him, said, he wold in the morning read it bi himself, and afterward send it to the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor; mynding with al celerite to do as moch to the Kings contentation and pleasure, with satisfaction of your Gr. request, as he might possibly do. We evermore did inculcate what spede and celerite this thing requyred, and what daunger it was to the realme to have this mater hang in suspense. His Ho. confessed the same: and therupon began to reckon what divers tytles might be pretended by the King of Scottes and other; and graunted, that without an heyre male with provision to be made, by the consent of the state, for his succession, and that shal be doon herein to be established in such fashion, as nothing may hereafter be objected therunto, that realm were like to come to dissolution. Which he doubteth not but that the Kings H. and your Gr. hath wel foreseen and considered. Thus without answer to that his Ho. said he wold slepe on for

51 setting forth an abstinence, we departed for that night, appointed to resort unto his Ho. on the morrow.

That night we went to the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, and after delyvery of the Kings and your Gr. letters, with most harty recommendations on the Kings and your Gr. behaulf, with like thanks for the gret paines and labors he had susteyned in avauncing and setting forth the Kings gret matier, declaring therby the inward zeal and affection that he hath, to do pleasure and gratitude to the Kings H. who is a Prince of such liberalite and munificence, as wil considre and regard such kindnes abundantly, to the good contentation and satisfaction of such is do any thing for him. Wherfor in as much, as *in testimonium acceptæ gratitudinis*, the Kings H. had geven us commaundement sumwhat to offer unto him in his Gr. name; it shold be displeasaunt to his Gr. to understand, that the said Cardinal hath refused to take the two thousand crownes offred by Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Gregory: which his H. thought veryly he had accepted and taken. This was spoken by thadvyce of me Sir Gregory. Forasmoch as I could in noo wise cawse the said Cardinal to take oon peny by noo means. And so rewarding his Secretary with thirty crownes, I kepe the rest in my hands to be offred him again. Hereunto the Cardinal said, that he was, and so wold be reputed, and taken, the Kings true servant, to do any thing that lay in his power, not sparing any labour, travayl or payne to do thing acceptable to the Kings H. unto whom oonly the see apostolique, and membres of the same, may wel accoumpt themself obliged and bound, to honor his Gr., to pretermyt no office, or observance, wherin might be administred unto him gratuite or pleasure. Wherfore he said, that al he hath doon, and can do, for the Kings H. he thinkith it moch less then his duty. And rehersed the Kings manifold benefits exhibited to the see apostolique: to take wer for the Churches cawse; to cease from werr at the Popes desire: and specially the procuring of the Popes delyverance; and particularly al that the Kings H. hath doon for the Church, as came to his remembrance

in sundry Popes dayes, extending the same with marvelous good words. And finally said, for these considerations he wold shew himself as diligent in expedition of this the Kings mater to his good contentation, as moch as might be maintened with law and equite, with al celerite accordingly. And from such good words entred into the particularities of the mater. In communication wherof we shewed him, what labors, paynes and studies the King had taken: and summarily, shewed him the ordre of the boke, and after what sort every thing was handeled. It pleased him very wel. And as to the form of the commission, he rehersed his old opinion. Wherunto we said, answer was made there by thadvice of sundry lerned men, who thought, that the form desired by the Kings H. is conformable to such as be in the Decretals; and rehersed by hart the chaptre *Veniens*, in the title *De Sponsalibus*. Which is in such like form, as the K. H. desireth. Incontinently as he heard that, falling from his old opinion, he said, that in dede such a commission might be graunted by thoffice of *contradicta:* wherof I Sir Gregory have written to your Gr. We asked him the fashion and maner of that office, and passing the commission he said, that it shold pass under lead, so as the Popes Ho. might allege, if he list, ignoraunce therin, as passed by his officers. We said, that passing after that 52
maner, the said commission might be, by an inhibition, impetrate on like fashion, frustrate and letted. He said, that good hede sholde be had therunto. By which words of the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, we perceave, that oonly fear of victory of the Spanyards lettith this cawse. And they al fear lest peradventure *victrix exercitus Hispanus* wold upon this mater make a quarel.

Which our conjecture we se somewhat confirmed by the Popes words, at our comyng to his presence on Wednesday. At which tyme demaunding of his Ho. whether he had red the commission, and how the same liked him. His Ho. said, it seemed unto him after the tenor of that was first sent: and neither approving, ne improving, said, he had sent it to the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, and taried to hear his opinion. Who being then diseased required us to come again on the morrow. At which tyme we shold togither consult upon that mater. That mater thus stayed by the disease of the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, we desired his Ho. to devise what Cardinal shold be most convenyent to be sent as Legate in that mater, to procede jointly or severally with your Gr. who might have a good pretence for componyng peace betwen princes. Which is a thing very necessary, as we had before shewed to his Ho. Hereat his Ho. somewhat stayed, and wold not expressly graunt, that he wold take upon him *provinciam mediatoris pacis.* And whan we repeted unto his Ho. the relation of Gambara, of such letters as themperor shuld have sent unto the Popes Ho. for that matier, his Ho. fayntely said, that soche lettres he had. Howbeit his Ho. nothing ernestly spake in that matier. We enforced that, as moche as we could; and said, we thought Cardinal Campegius shuld be a very meet personage to be sent into England: who might, being there joyntely with your Gr. procede in this matier. His Ho. said, that this the Kings matier, being thus divulged, it shuld be noted of al men, that whatsoever other cawse were pretended, it shuld be verily thought the very chief cawse shuld be for this purpose. We then adding, that in Cardinal Campegius, noted somewhat to favour themperors cawses, and to be indifferent, shuld be judged no such thing: replied no further, to thintent we might the better disciphre the very let and stykking: and for avoiding and removing therof lay such ordinances, as your Gr. in your instructions, hath prepared for us.

After this we toke occasion to induce his Ho. to set forth thabstinence, and by mutual reasoning to know of what opinion his Ho. was concerning the same; not namying it an abstinence, but a converting of the Princes powers totally to the exterminion of the Emperors army, before doing any thing in Flaunders. His Ho. said, he thought good, that *bellum* were *reipsa* executed here, *et solo nomine* in Flawnders. And al things to be so ordered as they in Flaunders should be in continual expectation, lest being

secure, they shuld, for avoydyng the werr, cause a new army to be sent into Lombardy. We said, that it is not to be thought, howsoever things procede here, that they here in the Low Country wyl spend any treasure for helping themperor in any part, but oonly in defence of their own country. And wheras his Ho. thought good, that al the Princes powers converted *reipsa* to the maintenance of this army, for the pacifying of Italy; it shuld be expedient *bellum geri nomine et fama in Flandria;* we thought, that such threats and *fama belli*, without any effect ensuyng, 53
shold moch encourage the Flemmengs, and them of the Low Countreyes, and cause them to think the default to be in the Princes puissances. Which opinion emprinted, thenemyes might gretly hyndre the common affaires. Wherfore we thought good, that if *omnis vis belli* shuld be converted hither, it were expedient that by some good policie an abstinence were set forth on that syde the mountaynes. Hereunto we had noo direct answer: but so departed from his Ho. leaving that mater to be delyvered of by his Ho. tyl our next repare unto the same. Which shal be this day, being the morrow after our Lady-day at thre of the clock at after noon: at which tyme the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor hath also promysed to be there.

At our repare unto the Popes Ho. as was appointed, there we found with him the Cardynal Sanctorum Quatuor, and standing in another angle of the chamber the Cardynal Ursinus, the Cardinal Cesarinus, and the Cardinal De Cœsis. And as soon as we wer entred his bedchambre, his Ho. withdrew himself into a lytel studie, which his Ho. useth for his sleping chambre; and there caused stoles to be brought: and setting himself with his back to the wal, wylled the Cardinal Sanctorum, and us to sit round about him: and then called for oon Jacobus Symonet, Dean of the Rote, a man of good gravite, and as it semed substantial lerned. When we were thus placed, the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor began to purpose the consultation, and cawse of our metyng, and there shewed in effect such reasons as he had written into England. And after him spake the said Dean, with a preface, that it was a matier wherin he had not moch studied, ne turned his bokes. Neverthe-les as semed to him for that tyme, he thought the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor said very wel. When they had both spoken, the Popes Ho. willed me, Steven Gardyner, to speke what I thought good in defence of the commission. And so I dyd to ther good satisfaction. And finally the matyer was so opened and declared by us, as the Popes Ho. right wel perceyved, and could not but allow, the Kings desire and his mynde therin.

And finally, the mater was reduced to this point, that such commission, althowe in old tyme it hath passed, and is not descrepant from justice; yet it is now *novum et insolitum.* And the Emperor might take occasion against the Pope to say, that to his injury his Ho. doth an act *extra modum nuper consuetum, et communem stilum curiæ a temporibus editorum decretalium observatum.* Howbeit we brought his Ho. by persuasions from this allegation. And oonly rested to know the opinions of lerned men, whether the particular cawses expressed in the commission may be justified to be sufficient for a divorse, or not. And therupon willed the said Symonet to loke his boke, and to have conference with us. We were reasoning to and fro bifore the Popes Ho. above fowre houres. In which conference we have plainly opened unto his Ho. the cawses, why the commission is desired in that form, and what is meant thereby: furnishing it with such reasons as were not removed, ne taken away, but *solo timore.* Inasmoch as the Popes Ho. to declare his good mynd towards the Kings H. said, that he had so moch confidence in the K. H. conscience, as he wold ground his therupon, and doth persuade unto himself, that to be true and just which so apperith unto the Kings conscience, and wold upon that ground pri-
54 vily pass any thing he might do by his auctoryte. But in this case, which shal come to the knowlege of the world, he said he must so do, as the see apostolique be not slandered thereby. And forasmoch as in hymself his Ho. knowlegith no such profound lerning as were sufficient to discuss this

matier, he thought therfore of duty he could no les do, then to counsail other therupon, such as be about him here. Who might hereafter justify his doings, whatsoever shuld be alleged on ther partie. Wherin he doubted not, but the Emperor wold cause diverse Universities to write. And therupon to me, Sir Gregory, his Ho. shewed a lettre, sent secretly from a gentleman, being in themperors Court: mentioning, what answer was made by the said Emperor to the intimation made on the Kings behaulf, conteining this matier of divorce. Which addith some fear to the Popes Ho. being of his own nature *timidior quam oportet.* And besides that, the doubtful end of the werr in Naples, which by such tydingis as came at our being with his Ho., mentioning, how the Spanyards intend to divide and distribute the army into holds there to abyde grace in space, is not like, as they think, to be ended before Michaelmass.

Neverthesles whatsoever we can devise in the Kingis matier to be doon in such sort, as the Pope might allege any excuse for hymself sumwhat to cloke his doyng herein, we think he wil make no stikking therat. For as towching allegation of the Kingis merits and deserts, it was no nede for us to speke any thing, the same being in the most ample wise rehersed to the Popes Ho. by the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor in our presence, with confession on al parties, that in the Kingis cause nothing were to be omitted, that might be doon, agreable to justice, and stile of the Court. To morrow in the morning the said Symonet Dean of the Rote, in whom the Popes Ho. puttith his confidence, shal by appointment repare to us, for examination of the justice of the matier. Which doon, and persuaded to him, as we trust it shalbe, we have good hope, that we shall sumwhat remove the Popes Ho. from the respect of the stile, and *moris novi ab editis decretalibus observati.*

This day in the morning, being the xxvii day of March, arryved the Prothonotary Gambara. And as yet we hear no word from Staphileus. But they say, he wil be here within these three or four dayes. Al this day from seven of the clock in the morning to dyner tyme, and after dyner,

til it was night, the said Symonet Dean of the Rote hath been with us, and herde what could be said concerning the law upon the causes alleged and expressed in the commission, he takyng upon him the contrary part, and objecting as much as he could. And albeit he wold not expresly confes our purposs, fearing that then there were no remedy, but that the commission in the form desired shulde pass, from reasoning, he descended to persuade us rather to take a general commission, in as ample form and maner as we could devise, with promise of ratification, then to stik upon this form, being new, and out of course. And if we wold be so contented, he would not doubt but we shuld be sped to morrow. And so began to make his reckening, that within three months, sentence myght be gyven there, and remytted hither to be confirmed, with many good words, how gladly he wold set forth the Kings cause, and how moch he, and the whole Court be bound to do the same: taking therupon occasion to speke of the Kings benefits to
55 the see apostolique, and what a minister your Gr. hath been in setting forth the same. Assuring your Gr. that generally here al men that speke with us do the semblable, expressely confessing, that through the help of the K. H. and your Gr. solicitation, they have obteined the lytel libertie they have, and your favours fayling shuld not enjoy the same. Fynally, the said Symonetta perceyving, that by no means he could persuade us to be content with such a commission, as is agreable to the second degree your Gr. hath prescribed us, departed from us for that night.

On the morrow we went to the Cardinal de Monte, and delyvered him the Kingis lettres, with recommendations on his Hieghnes, and your Gr. behalf. Who receyving the said lettres, joyfully said, it was moch to his comfurth after these calamities to receyve letters from that Prince, who hath oonly socoured and releved them out of the same: moch extolling the Kingis merits, and your Graces, towards the see apostolique and them; shewed what rejoyce it was to them to rede your Gr. lettres written unto them, when they were *in vinculis*, conteigning words full of life and hope: adding therunto, that if every oone of ther college had with such good hart regarded that calamitie, as your Gr. did, it had been moch less and soner redubbed. He is a man of good courage, and spake it hartily. Finally, he said what he might do in furthering the Kingis matier, which we shewed unto him at length, it was his duty to do it, as a member of the see apostolique, so gretly obliged and bound unto the Kinges H. in the most effectual manner to do the same. And that we shuld wel perceyve and know, he wold be as diligent therin, as thowe it were his own.

The Popes Ho. on Passion Sonday at after dyner counsailed upon this matier with the Cardinalls De Monte and Sanctorum Quatuor, and the said Simonetta, appointing us to come to his presence about three of the clock: and so we did. Finding his Ho. in his litill sleping chambre, accompanied with the Cardinals, Sanctorum Quatuor and De Monte, being ther also the said Simonetta. His Ho. commaunded us al to sit down, he hymself sytting as it were *in medio semicirculi;* and willed me, Stephen Gardyner, to ask what we desired. Which I then did, adding such circumstances to the petition, as I thought convenient: desiring in effect a commission after such form, as was alredy exhibited to his Ho. on the Kingis behaulf. Wherunto the Popes Ho. made answer at good length, protesting first his good mynd towards the K. H. and how moch he ought of duty to do to his Highnes good satisfaction, with plentie of good words. And secondarily, shewing what he had doon therin, forasmoch as his lerning is insufficient in this behaulf. Hereunto I, Steven Gardyner, replyed, that in this matier were two articles; chief and principal; oon, whether his Ho. wold pass the sayd commission: another, whether, if he would, he might. For the first part, *ad captandam benevolentiam,* I said, that besides such demonstrations as have been made heretofore, we sennes our cummyng have seen *evidentissima argumenta,* and may be *testes locupletissimi* to the K. H. and your Gr. of his Ho. propence will in this matier, to accomplish our desire. For the second part, whether his Ho. might, I said, that I trusted by the Kingis boke for the jus-

tice of the matier, it wel appered, and also by such offre, as the Cardynal Sanctorum Quatuor, and Simonetta, being lern-
56 ed men, have offered unto us in that behaulf: saying, that the sentence ones gyven shuld be confirmed by his Ho. Which promise, if it be to be trusted unto, is a playn confession, that our cause is good; or else it ought not to be confirmed. Wherfore betwen our desire and ther offre is onely difference of tyme. So as that which is promised to be done after the sentence, we require it to be in effect done bifore. Which was necessarie to be obtained in avoyding such chaunces, as might let obteining of the confirmation: as death of the Pope, or other adverse success, not now thought.

So as this matier is brought to this point, that as the oonly stile and maner lettith the graunting of the Kingis purpose; which I said the K. H. wold take very straungly, and wold think his manifold benefits il employed, if in the maner and forme of obteigning justice, there shal no more respect be had of his person, and weight of his cause, then *promiscuæ plebis;* ne obteyn more here, after so grete charges, costs, and delay of tyme, then his H. might have obteined at home. Not dowting but his Majesty, understonding hereof, wold use *domestico remedio apud suos*, without ventilating his cause, where he perceiveth it is handeled, loked on and herde, as thow there were alredy in mennes harts enrooted *prejudicata opinio*, that al things were colored, and *nullis nixa radicibus justitiæ et veritatis.* When I had thus spoken with many moo words sounding to that purpose, every man loked on other, and so stayed. At the last Simonet thinking, that the matier towched him nere; inasmoch as by graunting, and offering confirmation of the sentence, he shuld seme to approve the justnes of this cause; beganne to make and shew a difference bitwen confirming the sentence after it was gyven, and making this decretal commission. And so entred again into reasonyng of the causes.

The Popes Ho. harde with very good wil disputation in that matier. The Cardinals De Monte and Sanctorum Quatuor al this while were only auditours; the Card. Sanctorum Quatuor knowledging, that besides the stile of the court and usage therof, he hath noo sight in the law: and the Card. De Monte alleging that as yet he hath not loked his boke in this matier. But they both desired us to be content with a commission, conteyning no special causes, with promyse of confirmation: which shuld serve the Kingis purpose. And therin shuld be no difficulty made. We said, that our petition therin was by thadvice of many learned men, prescribed at home, and gyven us by instructions, which we might not transgress. The Popes Ho. said, that al that which with his honour he might do, he wold do it gladly without tract or difficultie. We said, that that which was not honourable for his Ho. to graunt, was not honorable to be desired on the Kingis behaulf. So as in this matier, if honour shuld be towched, it shuld be touched in them both. But it is not to be supposed, that the Kingis H., who hitherto hath had such respect of his honour, conserved and defended the same above al other princes, wold now, in conduceing this matier to effect, do any thing that shuld steyne or blemish the same: or that your Gr. who hath such consideration both to the Kingis honour, as his subget, and to the see apostolique, as membre of the same, wold be counsailour or ministre in any thing, that shuld be dishonorable to both, or either of them.

The Popes Ho. perceyving, that our words were somewhat 57
playner then they had been, and that by degrees we began to speke more ernestly then we had doon, and that we alleged alwayes for a ground nothing to be let or stop in graunting the said commission, but only the stile and maner of late in every common cause used; which seing we touched very moch, his Ho. said, that schortely to resolve this matier, he is now fixed and determined, in satisfying the Kingis desires, to set apart al stile and common course of the court, which could be no law to him, ne bynde his Ho. to follow the same in so gret a cause as this is, and to such a prince, who hath deserved so many benefits of the see apostolique: extending his aucthorite therin and speking as it were against Sancto-

rum Quatuor, who is altogether *defensor stili curie Romane, non prioris et antiquissimi, sed posterioris et novissimi,* used from the tyme of his practise. Finally, the Popes Ho. said, if in the law these causes may be ground just and sufficient to mayntein a sentence of divorce, he will make such a commission, any stile or use to the contrary notwithstanding. Adding therunto, that if themperor should grudge therat, he cared not therfore, and having matier to defend *justitiam causarum,* he wold by breve signify to themperor and the world, that, *in modo administrandæ justitiæ,* he of duty ought to shew al favour and grace to the K. H. for his manifold merits; and so he wold. Wherfore his Ho. said, he wold hear what the Card. De Monte, and the Card. Anconitane, unto whom he writeth in post, wil say in these matiers; and hering ther judgments, he wold shortely satisfy our requests and desires. And then devise with us upon sending of a Cardinal, and who shuld be most mete for that purpose.

We desired his Ho. that it wold please hym schortely to resolve hymself therin, to thintent we might depech our post, whom we have taried these six dayes past, and intend not to depech hym, til we shal have some certain resolution to signifie unto your Gr. His Ho. said, that no man desired more spedy expedition, then he hymself; knowing of what moment and importance the matier is.

After these disputations, continuing by the space of three houres, we did arise, and so did the Popes Ho. ministring unto us familiar communication, and enquiring of the Bishops of England, and ther gret age, as the Bishops of Winchestre, Norwich, and my Lord of Canterbury and other. Wherupon telling his Ho. a mery tale of the Bishop of Norwich his good herte, and how being about fourscore yere old, he wold have a chambre devised nere the ground without any staires, to ly in twenty yeres hence, when he knew wel he shuld be somwhat feeble; toke occasion to make overture unto his Holynes of taking away the first fruites, telling it as a motion made by the said Bishop to the K. H. and your Gr. without shewing the Popes Ho. that for obteining therof

we had any instructions therin. His Ho., for pastime, liked wel to hear therof, and began to enquire of the particularities, how and what maner those fruites might be redeemed. Wee then shewed the K. H. and your Gr. devise. Which liked his Ho. very wel, and so did it the Cardinals ther present. Wherfore having that opportunitie, and mynding to diminish such particular sutes, to thintent al cummyng *in cumulo* shuld not seme moch, said, that we had a commission from the K. H. and your Gr. to obteigne commission with sufficient auctorite for the doing therof. His Ho. said, it were 58
a good dede, and he wold gladly concurr to the perfiting therof. Which words being spoken to the Card. Sanctorum Quatuor, and in the presence of Simonetta oon of the referendaries, be a ful expedition in that matier.

The Popes Ho., althow it was night, having plesure in communication of this realm, introduced of himself communication of your Gr. college, and began to tell the Cardinalls De Monte and Sanctorum Quatuor, what a meritorious act your Gr. had begonne in that realm, and enquired of us, how the building proceded, and what we thought they would cost or they were finished; of the nombre of scholars, common reders, and al other particularities. Which we then declared at grete length, to the grete rejoyce and pleasure of the Popes Ho. and the Cardinals, as they said, to hear. And moch it pleased them to understond, that your Gr. hath taken such ordre in letting the fermes, as no man shal have them but such as wil dwel upon them, and mainteyne hospitalitie: thinking, that the same is not onely good and expedient for example to be followed, and observed of other, but also gretly meritorious towards God, wel justifying and mayntening the commutation and alteration of those religious places, wherof only did arise *scandalum religionis*. Thus entred in this communication, we immixt such things and reasons as might serve to facilitate the obteining of that is here to be graunted for the said college. And without opening any special requests, we said in general, that if his Ho. contynued his good mynd towards the finishing and perfiting of that college, as his Ho. hath to the beginning and commencement, your Gr. had so dysposed al things there, as it shuld schortely be brought to the desired perfitnes, althow the same is and shalbe to your Gr. inestimable charge. Which shuld be a perpetual memory as wel for his Ho., as for your Gr. His Ho. said, he gladly would do al things he might by his aucthoritie do. And at this point we departed from his Ho. for that night.

At another tyme in communication, we toke occasion to cause his Ho. to shew his mind to the Card. Sanctorum Quatuor, for degradation of Prests, accompting that matier, and for the first fruits of Norwich, sped *obiter, aliud agendo.* The making and conceiving wherof, we ne do, canne, ne shal intend unto such tyme as we expedite the Kinges matier, according to your Gr. commandment in that behaulf.

As touching that your Gr. willed us to advertise you, how long the process should contynue, in case the Kingis matier shuld be examined and discussed here; we have by al means possible endevored our self to know, without geving any cause to them here of conjecture that we wold have it brought hither. And to shew your Gr. playnly, first we perceyve, that they would not gladly have it here, as the state of the world is now, the Cesarians not yet purged out of these parties. For al the stop, difficulty and delay in this matier, procedeth only of fear. Which, considering ther late calamite, and the incertainty of the werr in Naples, semeth to be such as might *cadere inconstantem virum.* We find in every man as gret desire to further the Kingis matier as we can wish, as far as we can gather of ther words, fashion and maner. And in that they assent not to our requests, we can impute it to no other thing, but onely fear, that if there were any thing doon *novum et gratiosum,* agaynst the Emperors purpose, it shuld be *materia novæ*
59 *captivitatis;* if the Spanyards may have any comfort in Naples, wherof they be mervelous uncertayn. And althow newes dayly come of the Spanyards adversity, yet they fear and are glad to reteyne, and not to abandon themperors part; the Popes Ho. having with them a *nuntius* to enterteyne them; by him to be advertised of al success. As for length

of the process here, where every lerned man shal have delay to say his mynde, they cannot tel, ne wee can get any direct answer therin of them, not willing to be noted any thing to medle openly agaynst themperor, or that which he taketh so to stomack, as they know by the answer to thintimation he dooth this matier.

When we speke of celerite to be used in expedition, they devise how spede may be made there; and so the sentence to be remitted hither, to be confirmed. Other answer we can get none. So as al that hath been hitherto spoken by them, that the K. H. should first marye, and such other devices, as we may gather here, were set forth oonly for that intent, that whatsoever they did, they wold not be noted of counsail in the beginning of the matier, or to be privy to any spicialty therof in the commencement. For which cause we are the more earnest in pressing them to graunt the commission after the first device, mentioning the specialties of the cause. Which set apart and not required, we are sure to obteine the second degree of our instructions in the most ample wise, and with gret thanks to take it. Howbeit we do not yet relent, but stik stil to have the commission after the first form; grownding our self upon such reasons, as the Popes Ho. wel perceyveth, and right wel alloweth. Nevertheles the case being chaunged as it is synnes our departure, by reason of such publication therof, as themperor hath made in his answer to the intimation. Wel considering how the process might be after the best deduced and handelyd, without gyving themperor occasion, and his adherents to brute abrode, slaundering the Kings matier, that without extraordinary remedies the K. H. could not attayne his purpose, we verily think in our opinyon, that the commission obteyned after the secound degree shal serve to very good purpose, to ground the process upon, and to be that which shalbe openly exhibited and shewed: being also that which they wold gladly geve us here, with promise to confirm the sentence incontynently, *supplentes omnes defectus tam juris quam facti*, with al spede and expedition possible. Wherunto according to our instructions we shal condescend oonly in such case, as we perceyve letts to be in obteining the first. Which notwithstanding any words spoken unto us by the Popes Ho. we think we shal not obtein to be used and shewed openly, as we require it.

Wherfore inasmoch as we perceyve the let of graunting therof to be fear, which being so imminent and lately felt, we be in dispair to take away, either by words of comfort, or other like, as your Gr. can of your high wisdome considre to be *verisimile*, according to such communication, as your Gr. had unto us the Friday at night before our departing in your chambre at Yorkes place. Pondering also that the effect of the commission after the first form is onely, *ut constet de judicio ecclesiæ* in those articles, for the discharge of them, that shal procede therin, we have devised, that being without hope of obteining the commission absolutely in the 60 first form, we shal desire the Popes Ho. to pas it secretly to remayn with the K. H. for justification of his matier, *in eventum*, that the confirmation by some chaunce cannot be obteyned, the same to be kept secret, and to be shewen to no man, but only the Kingis counsailours; and to geve us, as is promised, a generall commission for a Legate, as our instructions purporteth. Which first commission to be kept secret, yf we can obteyne, as we perceyve some likliwode we shal; the said commission in the first form, shewed to such as have been of contrary opinion, shal, and must, satisfie them, and be *regula* to them, that shal be judges, how to procede; seing *rescriptum Pontificis* determining the case. And the second commission to be that whereupon the jurisdiction shal be grawnted, to make process in that matier. The said first commission obteyned in secret maner, having noon other use, but to be seen ther privily, shalbe *calculus et suffragium Pontificis* in the law, and also *pignus suæ voluntatis et aucthoritatis*, that the sentence be geven conformably therunto, shal be confirmed.

In this device we digress not from our instructions. Forasmoch as it is not, ne shal be, set forth unto such tyme, as by our instructions we shuld take the general commission, being in dispair of the first and special commission. At which tyme if we can attayne the first to be kept privy for the purpose before specified, and *ex abundanti*, having so moch more to be used at your pleasure or refused, we think we shal not offend the K. H. and your Grace.

The matiers being at this poynt, and so long tyme passed synnes our arryval here, we thought best hereupon to depech my Lord of Rochfords prest, without tarying of any other resolution, whether we shal obteign the commission aftre this first form, or not. Which yf we can attayne, we wil be most glad; yf not, we shal see what we can do for obteigning that to be kept secret: wherin we have summe hope: and being in despair therof, shal, according to our instructions, cumme to the second degree, to have the general commission. Which we be sure of, and have promise already made unto us, as we have bifore writen unto your Gr. From day to day we have ever been in good hope to have sent sum resolution of attayning the commission in the first form, and have been in contynual disputations every day; trusting to have had such answer as we desired. Wherupon we differred the depechs of this post: doing also the same to move and sterre the Popes Ho. with the more spede to regard our cause *tacitè*, by not sending away our post; signifying unto him that we were nothing satified with what we herde his Ho. say unto us, althow he promised us a commission general, agreable to the second degree of our instructions.

The Prothonotary Gambara resortith unto us, and soliciteth the Kingis matier very effectually, aswel to the Popes Ho. as also other. The Bishop Staphileus is not yet come, but they said he wil be here within these two days. The Popes Ho. is not yet resolved what Cardinal he will send, and wold, that he might send noon. Nevertheless he saith, he wil appoint oon such as that be agreable to the Kingis desire. The Cardinal Campegius is at Rome. *De cujus voluntate non dubitatur*. For the Popes Ho. said, the said Cardinal wrote unto hym to geve faith to the Kingis H. writings and reasons in this matier. It is onely feared in hym, *nè in itinere laboret podagra; cui morbo*

61 *mirum in modum obnoxius est:* after such sort as he is gretly extenuate therwith, when it cummith. Of whom his Ho. wil resolve hymself, we cannot yet tell. The certainte wherof I, Edward Fox, shal bring with me with the said commission.

As towching the sending of Legates to the princes, and setting forth an abstynence, as your Gr. wrot unto us by your lettres, we cann have noon other answer of the Popes Ho. then we have now written unto your Gr. His Ho. is *cunctator maximus.* Which qualitie hath contrary success in his Ho. to that it had *in Fabio Maximo; qui rem Romanam cunctando restituit.* In the Kings cause his Ho. hath taken very gret paines; and we think at this houre seeth as far in it, why and wherfore the commission is desired in the first form, as any other of his assistence; and as we thinke moch better. So as whatsoever his Ho. shal do therin, he shal never allege *surreptionem, obreptionem, fucum* or *ignorantiam.*

May it please your Gr. to signifie your pleasure by letters to the Mayster of the Rolls, how and in what wise we, Steven Gardyner, and Edward Fox, or either of us, retorning by Fraunce, shal use our self, in reparing to the French court: and how we shal answer the French King, in case he be desirous to know what spede is had here in the Kingis matier.

We send unto your Gr. herein inclosed abstracts of such letters, as hath been sent to the Popes Ho. by his *nuncius* resident with Mouns. De Lautreke, contayning news of his proceding in Naples. It is very certain, that the Spanyards have refused batel, and conveyed themself out of ther camp neerer unto Naples in the night, from the place where they were encamped within haulf a mile of tharmy of Mouns. De Lautreck. In hurtes doon and taken on eyther partie, there is many tymes tydings repugnant; and the Imperialls in writing retayne ther courage, that they have lost in fighting. It is also of certainte, which we think hath come to your Gr. knowlege, that the citizens in Rome dayly sle such Spanyards as they can have knowlege of: not oonly such as were soulgiers, but also such as before dwelt in Rome, and in the direption lost ther substance. So as *nullus natione Hispanus ulla ex parte tutus veniret Romam:* as other things occurrith here worthy advertisement, we shal not faile to signify the same unto your Gr. praying Almightie God long to preserve your Gr. in good helth and prosperitie, with moch encrease of honour and felicitie. From Orviet, the last day of March.

Postscripta, As we were finyshing these letters, I, Sir Gregory, was sent for to the Popes Ho. Who, forasmoch as he hath no better resolution from the Fr. King concerning the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia, verily persuading hymself, that the Venecians, were not that they had sum comfort of the Fr. King, wold not have differred contrary to ther promyse made to the K. H. and your Gr., the restitution of the said cities, so long as they have doon; thinking therfore that the letters sent from the K. H. and your Gr. in that matier shal nothing prevaile; saith, he is in total desperation, and perceyveth hymself deluded of al parties. And synnes he cannot hope of remedy at ther hands, that call themself frends, he shall be necessitate to geve hymself to them that be noted enemies; and sooner to 62
suffre *ruinam totius Italiæ*, then his Ho. and the Church *sic ludibrio exponi ab istis*, meaning the Venecians. *De quibus tam bene meritus est.* The Popes Ho. thinketh not, that any thing is doon by the Fr. King herin for any ill mynd he berith to his Ho. *Sed ex nimio affectu in Venetos*, more esteming them then is convenient. Who so litil regarded so many promises, made by the oratours to the K. H., the Fr. King, your Gr. and my Lady, in such a matier, as without manyfest injury cannot be differred a day. His Ho. is the more perplexed and troubled, for that Ariminum delyvered unto hym by Mouns. De Lautreck, is now taken again by hym, that had occupate it before, and was put out by Mouns. De Lautreke. Which geveth cause of suspition unto hym, and clerly discomforteth hym in his mynd and opynyon. Wherfore yf your Gr. by good ways and means doo not with the Fr. King and Venecians so

ordre his matier, as effect may ensue, his Ho. is so far fallen in his own conceite, as it shal not ly in any mans power here by his counsail to uphold hym, but that he shal precipitate hymself into his enemies dedition, to the total ruine of al Italie, and hindrance of the common affaires.

Number XXIV.

Dr. Gardiner, Dr. Fox, and Sir Gregory de Cassalis, the King's Ambassadors, unto the Cardinall. From Orviet.

Foxii MSS. PLEASITH yt your Gr. to undrestand, that after depech of my Lord of Rochfords prest, who departed hens the first day of April, I, with Maister Fox and Sir Gregory, repared that day to the Popes Ho. shewing unto the same, how upon comfurth of such words as his Ho. had spoken unto us, and such good inclination, as we perceyved in the same, to do al things that might be to the Kingis good contentation and your Gr. we had depeched our post with letters signifying his Ho. good mynd, and that we loked for short expedition, to the satisfaction of the K. H. and your Gr. The specialties wherof to be sent by Mr. Fox, who, whatsoever answer shal be geven, must retorne shortely. Wherfore I desired his Ho. to resolve hymself without delay or difficultie, saying, that *bis dat qui cito dat: et aliud dare videtur, qui cito negat.* His Ho. said, that this matier consisted in the knowlege of the law, wherof he is ignorant, and must nedys therfore depend upon the resolution of them, which be lerned in that facultie, whom he hath counsailed, and cannot as yet get any certain answer of them, althow his Ho. hath, and contynually doth desire them with spede to condescend to oon opinion, or other, and to shew ther sentence in these articles, whether in ther opinions the causes wherupon the matrimony shold be declared nought, and the dispensation void, be sufficient in the law, or not. Which doon he wold reject al stiles and ceremonies, and wold do all things, not contrary to justice.

63 I said, that as for the knowlege of the justnes of the cause, I verily trusted his Ho. wold geve credence to the

Kingis bokes, and your Gr. relation of the opinion of lerned men in those parties. His Ho. said, that the thing being such as shold come *in judicium orbis*, he wold so do; and doubtith not, but that the K. H. and your Gr. se very good matier and substantial, why the said matrimony shold be dissolved. Nevertheles hereafter *re deducta in ora omnium*, it shold be said, *quod quanquam ut bonus vir serenissimo Regi, de cujus conscientia non dubitat;* and your Gr. relation, whom his Ho. knoweth wel wil not, for any respect, *aberrare a vero, fidem habuerit: tamen non ut bonus pontifex et judex communis, qui de alienis factis cognoscens, non ipsos eosdem adhibere debeat consultores.* He said, it is both true, wherof he is both sory and ashamyd, and also notory, that his Ho. hath no lerning in the law. Which, when the commission cam *in publicum*, as it must nedys do, by reason a copy therof shal be geven to the Quene, and so consequently to themperor hands, shold argue hym either manifestly *temerarium*, to the slaunder of the Church, doyng it without counsail of other, or else *nimis credulum judicem*, to be persuaded by the parties sayings only, without hering any thing replied on the other side. And added therunto, that they of the court here, being lerned men in the law, whose counsails the Popes heretofore have most commonly adhibite and followed, wold hereafter most sonnes study to reprove and confute that which is, or shal be, done: and thow the same were wel doon, to the passing wherof hath not be required ther judgment and advise. Wherfore yf he colde have the opinion of them here, he wold make no further tract: saying, that of the truth of the matier he was persuaded by the Kingis and your Gr. relation.

And as towching the publishing of the same after this maner, and calling it truth *aliis*, with decree to be geven therupon by his aucthoritie, as the commission purporteth, he wold gladly do it, having any comfurth of these men so to do. Who yf they say ther opinions therin, it shal evermore studye from hensfurth for the defence therof, and justifie his doyng in this behaulf.

Hereunto I said, that it shuld be somewhat alien and discrepant from thexpectation of the K. H. and your Gr., to undrestonde by our lettres this answer. Which conferred with such wordis, as have been spoken in divers communications bifore, semeth evidently to declare these wayes and means be to excogitate to colour the denyal of the Kingis purpose. Which shal be *duplici nomine ingratum.* First, *ob negatam tam justam petitionem.* Secondly, *ob moram et dilationem.* Of which two may arise such suspition, as your Gr. wold be loth shuld enter into the Kingis brest. And thus began to repete such words of comforte as the Popes Ho. had spoken unto us at sondry tymes, which we have reported unto your Gr. by our former letters. And wher his Ho. puttith so moch doubt of mens sayings and judgments, having regard and respect what mennys opinions shalbe of hym, for gevyng credence to the parties, I said, that in a matier of truth, as this is, having so evident and manyfest reasons for confirmation therof, al such scruples were removed. And it shuld not be considered, who said it, but what was said, *et veritatis luce proferente sese, veluti ad solis conspectum nebulas, obscuras istas calumnias evanescere.* Wherfore inasmoch as the
64 Kings matier there is affirmed to be just, and that they here only doubt, without determining the same to be unjust; with that also, that his Ho., as he pretested, geveth privately credence to the Kingis reasons, and your Gr. relation and judgment, it shalbe thought of yt self sufficient matier and justifiable. So as his Ho. not so taking it, and doing theraftre, no words to be spoken of his mouth so ernestly and effectually, as may be able to counterpeise his dede; but that the same shal *ad suspicionem minus sinceræ mentis colligeñdam præponderare.* Desiring his Holines therfore, that he wold have good respect therunto: and *prætervolantem occasionem sistere et retinere:* maynteining your labour and study in reteining the K. H. devotion towards the see apostolique; and not putting things in such condition, as they shuld not be recoverable by no means hereafter: saying, Now is the tyme, in which doyng that of

duty and justice he ought to do, his Ho. might adquire an inestimable treasure of the Kingis good mynd for recovery of the aucthorite of the see apostolique, with mayntenance of the same. His Ho. said, he wold do the best he could. And forasmoch it was shewed him, that Bishop Staphileus was within a dayes jorney, he wold tary his cummyng, and hear what he wold say, and so without other resolution departed for that tyme.

The same night arryved Staphileus. And on the morrow we repared to his lodging, shewing unto hym al we had done, and in what point the matier stode: declaring unto him also, what our petition was, and in what forme the commission was devysed, with commandment by instructions in no wise to digress from the same: desiring hym finally according to the K. H. and your Gr. expectation, he wold, as moch as he possibly might, set forth the same. He said, first, that he was very sory, that he could not cumme soner, as he desired: and now cummen he wold not faile to do the best he could. Nevertheles where I said, that the commission shold be directed to your Gr. alone, or joyntly to you and another Legate, he said, that was not in his instructions, but expressely the contrary; referring hymself not to his writing, but to words spoken, as he said, by the K. H. at the More that evenyng he was there with the K. H. and your Gr. At which tyme, as he said, the K. H. said, that the Quene might and wold refuse your Gr. And therfore it shuld be wel done your Gr. medled not as judge in the matier. From this opinion we could not bring hym a good while; tyl at the last he said, he wolde conform hymself to our instructions. This was theffect of our communication with hym for that tyme.

And because the said Staphileus is here, as the Fr. Kings oratour, for declaration of such charge as he had, to be shewed from the Fr. King, he repared to the Popes Ho. twyes without us; advertising your Gr. that I, Sir Gregory being with the Popes Ho. secretly in the evening next following, his Ho. shewed *sub secreto*, al that the said Staphileus had said unto him concerning the Kings matier:

which was in effect, that he thought the cause good. And the Popes Ho. mervayling *de forma commissionis*, the said Staphile shuld answer, that he was never privy therunto, but was only instructed, that a general commission shuld be geven to a Legat to be sent hens: and that the K. H. wold your Gr. shuld not be judge, by reason the Quene
65 might refuse your Gr. as suspect. When Staphileus had spoken with the Popes Ho. he thence repared unto us, and shewed us how moch he had moved the Popes Ho. in our matier, and that we shuld by his means have schort expedition, with such like words: nevertheles rownding us in the ear, he said, it was not to be stikked at for obteining of the commission decretal: inasmoch as by a general commission the King might have his purpose, the sentence to be geven there schortely, and so afterward to be confirmed here: saying, that by his dexteritie he wold in such wise handel the matier, as the Pope at his sute shold schortly graunt therunto. We dissembling knowlege of any thing by hym spoken to the Popes Ho. said, we had without hym obteined graunt of such commission, with secret promise of confirmation: and had ordered the matier in such sort, as it was on their part offered us; and we by them desired to take it. Howbeit forasmoch as by our instructions we might not accept it, we therfore do stil persist in requiring the first: wherin we desired his help and furtherance. He said, he wold do the best he could.

The Friday before Palmes Sonday, the Popes Ho. appoynted *solennem consessum* of the Cardinals De Monte and Sanctorum Quatuor, Staphileus, and the Dean of the Rote, to dispute and reason upon the Kings matier. Al which tyme we convened in the Popes litill chambre, being then present at the same disputation an auditor of the Rote called Paulus, and the Prothonotary Gambara. After every man was placed, the Bishop Staphileus had a long oration, conteyning his whole boke, and the reasons of the same. Which lasted two houres. When he had spoken the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor began, and somewhat contraried Staphileus: repeting summarily what he had said, and inferring such reasons, as semed to make the contrary. Wherunto Staphileus answered. *Etiam incaluerat disputatio.* After they had reasoned a good whyle, I desyred of the Popes Ho. I might be herd to say somewhat to such reasons as the Card. Sanctorum Quatuor had spoken. Which were very frivolous, and semed to be *quæsita studio, ne deesset quod contradiceretur.* His Ho. willed me to speke: and so I did reply to the Card. Sanctorum Quatuor. Who then remitted his reasons to the Dean of the Rote, from whom he had them. And so the Dean of the Rote and I examined certain of those reasons, and tryed of what strength they were so playnly, as the Popes Ho. wel perceyved it, and how they weyed.

And forasmoch as after long altercation I perceyved, that they had no substantial reasons; yet, saying, they doubted, wold not *cedere ;* but when they were brought to a stay, evermore for a solution desired us to be content with a commission in a general forme, and after sentence gyven the same to be confirmed here. I, *habita præfatione*, desired the Popes Ho. the Cardynalls and thoder lerned men there, to note and pondre such words as I shold say of duty and observance towards the see apostolique; necessarily to be considered, and regarded for conservation of the aucthoritie of the same: which were these. That inasmoch as now the Kingis matier hath ben by them herde and debated, to know the justice of the same, onles there be another resolution taken then I perceyve they intend to make, hereupon shal be gathered a mervelous opinion of your Ho. this college, and the aucthoritie of this see. For the Kingis H. and nobles of that realm, who shal be made privey hereunto, shal nedys think, that either *Sanctitas ve-* 66
stra, hii reverendissimi Domini et doctissimi viri certum in hac causa respondere aut nolunt, aut non possunt. Si nolunt, inquient, nec dignantur erranti monstrari viam, cujus curam a Deo commissam habent; atque adeo tanto principi, tam bene merito: denique quod ultro et gratis facere debeant, non faciunt, tot beneficiis provocati. O! simul et ingratissimum hominum genus, et muneris sui negli-

gentissimum. Imo, qui simplices esse debeant sicut columbæ, apertoque pectore, pleni omni dolo et versutia et dissimulatione. Verbis omnia pollicentur, reipsa nihil præstant. Itaque siquid ista moveant animos vestros, iterum atque iterum petimus, efflagitamusque, ut si causa serenissimi Regis nostri justa vobis videatur, et bona fiat, quod pollicitum est nobis, ut talis judicetur. Sin mala videatur et iniqua, efficite quantum potestis, ut ne is princeps, quem tantum patronum confitemini, in ea re versetur diutius, aut longius progrediatur. In qua ex animi vestri judicio aut honor aut animæ salus periclitetur. Nolite deesse ei vestris consiliis; qui vobis semper adfuit tum consilio, tum ope, tum auctoritate. Neque enim postulamus aliud a vobis quam justitiam, quam ita amplexatur et colit serenissimus Rex noster, ut quicquid sinistre suspicentur alii, illam omnino sive pro matrimonio, sive contra matrimonium, steterit, id quod et vobis et orbi testatissimum vult sua Majestas, animo lubentissimo sit sequuturus. Quod si regia Majestas, et nobiles alii de voluntate vestra persuasi, an certum respondere possitis dubitabunt, quod necesse est faciant, quum aut nolle vos, aut non posse sit certissimum, animos sane durior subibit de hac sede cogitatio; clavem viz. scientiæ abstulisse Deum, atque adeo explosa hactenus quorundam sententia incipiet non displicere, digna esse quæ mandentur flammis, Pontificia jura, quæ ipsi etiam Pontifici et suis sunt incertissima. Tristissimum quidem et durissimum est id opinari aliquos, non posse vos nodum hujus caussæ explicare, quem ex rationibus serenissimi Regis cernitis dissolutum. Gravius vero illud est, si cum potestis, non vultis, quum sententia vestra, quæcunque sit, modo certa sit, favorem ejus principis promereatur, qui jam olim de vobis, quod non diffitemini, summa quæque et plusquam omnia, promeritus sit.

These were my words, to thintent I might cause them openly to assent to us, and *extorquere illam simulatam hæsitationem, et affectatam dubitationem*, having no good colour of maintenance. Nevertheles we afterward perceyved such appoyntment was taken, that they shold alwayes

doubt: so, as to my words thus spoken no man answered.
But as is accustomed amongst frends, to move them to an
indifferent way by compromise; so they desired us to take
a mean way, and to be content with a general commission.
When I perceyved they sung ever that song, and could by
no means be brought from it, I said unto the Popes Ho.
playnely, that by this covert dealing, and motions made to
the general commission, I could perceyve no other thing
ment, but that every man wold hereafter pretend ignorance
in the matier, and wold kepe themself at libertie to resolve
ther doubt for his parte hereafter, that shal have the better
hand. *Et si Cæsar vicerit*, then they might with their
honesties lean to hym. Howbeit I desired his Ho. to pon-
dre wel this matier. For albeit bifore the cause was in al
circumstances disclosed and openyd unto them, such pre-
tence wold have had some liklihood, yet now al the matier
declared and ventilate, and ther sentence *in hanc aut illam
partem* required, they persuading us to take a general com- 67
mission, with promise that the sentence to be geven *contra
matrimonium*, shalbe confirmed; *Quod verbis vel nolunt,
vel non audent, vel quacunque ratione non faciant, reipsa
fatentur, viz. causam videri ipsis bonam et justam, aut se
famæ suæ prodigos, propriæque salutis immemores osten-
dunt, ut causæ quam putant malam, in judicio tentando
velint esse autores.*

These words were patiently herd of al parties, but nothing answered to them directly. And so the day being then spent, the Popes Ho. did arise. Unto whom we said secretly, that his Ho. might wel considre, to what part justice enclined: and that these men can shew no matier substantial, to impugne, that the Kingis H. had writen. His Ho. said, that he was not lerned, and to say truth, Albeit it were a saying in the law, that *Pontifex habet omnia jura in scrinio pectoris*, yet God never gave unto hym the key to open *illud scrinium.* Howbeit his Ho. said, he wold after our departure know the opinions of the Cardinals and Auditours to what poynte we shuld rest. And so his Ho. did: and shewed unto me, Sir Gregory, afterward, that they wold advyse hym in no wyse to graunte the commission after the first forme.

On the morrow we retorned unto the Popes Ho. and spake roundly unto hym, as our instructions purporteth: and to that poynt, the Kingis H. wold do it without hym. His Ho. said, he wold it were doon; and to the other words, nothing but sighed and wyped his yees, saying, that in a mater, *in qua vertitur jus tertii*, he could do nothing without the counsail of them, and wyshed that yt were in his power to geve the K. H. somewhat depending oonly of his own particular hurt or dammage, without touching any other mans right, with such like words, nothing sounding to the furtherance: but found our self in utter desperation. Wherfore we saw no remedy but to reasort to the second degree. Which was afterward set forth by me, Sir Gregory. Who, as it was agreed, speking famylyarly with the Popes Ho. said, as of my self, that I wold know of my collegues, whether they wil be content to take a general commission, soo his Ho. pass in secret maner the decretal commission; the same not to come *in publicum*, but in case your Ho. do not confirme the sentence; and ells to be kept secret. Wherunto his Ho. answered, that yt were wel doon to move us of yt: and he hymself wold in the mean tyme considre that matier.

Upon Palme Sonday we went again to the Popes Ho. and had communication of these commissions: and as concerning the passing of the commission decretal in secret maner, his Ho. said he had resolved himself *hoc dilemmate: si justè fieri potest, debet fieri publicè, si non posset fieri justè, dedecore maximo foret, et interim agitaret conscientiam, fecisse secretè.* To that I said, *Quia justum est, ideo deberet fieri publicè; sed quia metus Cæsaris facit, ne fiat publicè, fiat sine metu secretè.* Which if his Ho. wold do, we have some hope that your Gr. by your dexterite shal so handle that, as the same shal be taken in good part of the K. H. and do as good stede for enterteining his Gr. benevolent and good mynd towards this see, as though the said commission were passed to be shewed *publicè*. Hereunto we could get no answer: but so departed. Assuring your Gr. that the Popes Ho. althowe he perceyveth better and sooner al that is spoken, than any other, yet to geve an answer, ye or na, *nunquam vidi tam tardum.*

The same night after we were departed from the Pope, 68 we sent for Simonetta Dean of the Rote, like as we did sondry tymes bifore: forasmoch as he had no lodging, where we might repare unto hym: and when he came unto us, first we gave hym thanks for his labours, taken in this matier, and said, Albeit they were not so fruytful as we loked for, yet men pay *pro cultura agri, etiam si segetem non ferat.* And so shuld the K. H. for his labours and paines. Upon which words and such like, we entered communication of the Kingis matier. And brevely, to shew unto your Gr. theffect of that conference. Forasmoch as heretofore the same Simonetta at sondry tymes had moch extolled the Kingis goodness and benefits towards this see, and that therfore he accompted hymself obliged to do al he possibly might for the K. H. we desyred hym, that setting apart *personam consultoris induendo personam boni amici, qui causam amici ducit suam*, he wold shew us his opynyon in the Kingis matier: saying, that synnes we were at a poynt, not to styck any further in the first commission, he neded not to fear, but might speke *liberè* his mynd and opynyon.

Hereunto he made answer, that the fact which is alledged, with the circumstance proved there, the cawses were in his opynyon gret and just. We said, we wold signyfy his opynyon to the K. H. and your Gr. And although that part is had there *pro comperto*, yet his opynyon shold wel confirme that persuasion: saying, we had no other matier unto hym, but to know his mynde afore, and geve hym thanks. Then we famyliarly asked hym, Why he did not say soo to the Popes Ho.? Hereunto he could geve no direct answer; but said, it was better to kepe the common course, thenne to have such a commission, as we desyred. And so put off communication of that matier. These words the said Symonetta had with Master Fox and me, Steven

Gardyner; and afterwards before me, Sir Gregory, and us together, affirmed the same.

Thus he departing from us, I, Steven Gardyner, entended to the devising of a general commission for a Legate, with such clauses as be conteyned in our instructions, as your Gr. shal perceave by the minute which Master Fox bringeth with him, with annotations in the margin, conteyning the considerations of every clause. Hitherto in our first letters, and these, we have in our wrytings doon as they do, *qui dum comedunt, presentem cibi saporem probant, quem in concoctione molesta improbare coguntur. Hactenus verba optima et dulcissima*, and specially for graunting the general commission, which in execution when it cummyth to the poynt, we fynd *effectu amara.* Hertofore yt was said unto us the commission shuld be of our devising, now when we had made yt, *omnes inierunt consilium, ut caperent, sermone et verbis optimis struant calumnias, et sincerissimo sensu scripta pervertant:* as I shal brevely note, and Mr. Fox can more amply shew unto your Gr.

First, we shewed the commyssion by us devised to Simonett, as the Popes Ho. appoynted us to do. For in these cawses his Ho. wold of hymself do nothing, for any thing we could do. Simonett, when he had red the commission, he sayd, he thought the matier was good, saving in the latter end. But he said, it was *nimis facunda et ornata.* We said, that *salvâ rerum substantiâ*, we regarded not the words. The next day we went to the Cardynal Sanctorum Quatuor, who, by relation of the said Simonett, had hard of
69 our commission and the tenor therof. And therefore shewing us what he undrestode of our commission by Simonett, answering, as he had herd it red, that it could not be graunted; and said, that the syck man shewing his disease to the physician, doth not hymself proportion the medycyne, but takith it after the physicians discretion. Hereunto I said, that the sicknes and the physician be many tymes of such qualities, as the sick mans advice may moch help the physician: specially when the sick man knoweth his own disease, and hath any lerning or knowlege in physick. Which

concurr in this case: the disease also being of such sort as the same is curable many ways: and so red unto hym the commission by us devised. The Card. Sanctorum Quatuor saying, that the beginnyng pleased hym not, retorned to read unto us that he had sent by Mr. Secretary, and after a lytil alteration upon both commissions said, that yt was orderyd by the Popes Ho. that we shuld go to the Card. De Monte. And so we did, assembling there for that purpose the Cardyñal Sanctorum Quatuor, Simonett, and Gambara. Where eftsones we red the commission: which doon, without any disputation, they desired us to depart: saying, that they wold apart consult upon certain articles, and not alter very many thyngs, but do so as we shuld have cause to be contented. We desyred them to determyne ther pleasures schortly: for Mr. Fox must nedes depart, and Ester approached, *et dies ceremoniales*, when nothing could be expedite. They said, they wold send for us agayn that night. Al that afternoon and the next day, tyl yt was night, we could not by any means possible know what they had doon: and so went now to the Pope, from the Pope to them: and fynally sent for Symonett, and desyred hym to shew what was doon. He said, that he was sworn he shold shew nothing.

Upon Tuysday after Palme Sonday about two howres bifore night, we went to the Popes Ho. who then shewed a minute of a commission by them reformed and subscribed with their hands. Wherin when we saw the additions, detractions and corrections, I began to lay to the Popes charge his promise made concerning this commission, and shewed what doubbleness might be noted in this dealing: and that his Ho. having mynde to delude and delay us, had chosen these men as instruments, with as sore words as we could devise. Saying, that first, his Ho. protested he wold regard no stile, so justice wold bear the cause. And now we passed disputation of justice, we fynd the same difficultie in the stile. His Ho. said, he must nedys use other mennys counsails; and such other words. Howbeit fynally condescended to this poynt, that yf Simonett wold say, the minute after our devysing was nothing contrary to justice, we shuld have yt: and his Ho. wold fulfil his promyse in the stile. Hereupon Simonetta was sent for, but he wold nothing answer directly, or resolutely, *absentibus Cardinalibus et illis inconsultis;* and it was then two howres within night. There we fel in reasoning with Simonett, and *incalescente disputatione* trusting by importunitie to have obteyned our purpose, taryed with the Popes Ho. five houres within night. Which after counting of the clock there, was oon of the clock after midnight. At which tyme we departed with noon other resolution, but that the day following bifore dyner we shuld have a certain answer, wherunto to rest.

70 That day following, which was Wednesday, two howres bifore dyner tyme, and byfore the Popes Ho. had herd his Mass, we repared to his presence; bringing with us bokes of the law for justifying such places of our commission, as they had noted, and added somewhat unto them, *pertinens ad suggillationem, tum honoris futurorum judicum, tum etiam fidei nostræ*, being at that tyme with the Popes Ho. the Cardynalls De Monte and Sanctorum Quatuor, and also Simonetta. And so entred a new disputation. In which, *libro judice*, it was shewed unto the Popes Ho. *quæ calumniabantur et quæ, optimè posita, sine ratione corrigebant.* At last they began *amicè* to loke upon, and rede with us the commission, and to correct it by consent: saving in certain points, as more playnly apperith in the corrections: and so departed from the Popes Ho. for that tyme, beying then two of the clock at afternone, with promyse that agaynst night we shuld have the minute clerly fynyshed to our good contentment.

The same evening we reparyd again to the Popes Holynes. And then fynding our minute altred from that was agreed on before, beganne a new disputation with Simonett, the Cardinals being absent. And at the last we differed but in two words in the whole commission; as the sign universal, *omnem* to be added to *posteritatem;* and the word *nolente*, to the clause *nolente aut impedito:* herunto Simonetta wold nothing answer without thadvyse of the Cardinalls. Wherfore the night being then far past, the Popes Ho. willed hym and Gambara to go to the Cardinalls howses, to ask them their opinions upon these words: and so they did. The Cardinals sent word, that they were making collation, and on the morrow wold loke their bokes therin.

Here began a new tragedy. We complayned that we were deluded and skorned, and told the Popes Ho. This is not the way to enterteyn the favour of Prynces, *et vinum conspurcat infusa aqua.* Hereupon I declared evidently and manifestly unto his Ho. that these men have nothing doon in correcting the commission, of lerning, but only of ignoraunce and suspicion, *putantes sub omni verbo latere scorpionem:* far discrepant to their former words unto us. Howbeit we take al this as doon by his Ho. commandment, *qui oculos habet, et non videt.* And yf his Ho. be not in this matier *obnoxius delicto*, yet as the law sayeth, *qui opera utatur talium hominum*, he is *obnoxius ex quasi delicto;* and must bere the blame of ther doyngs. And herupon I began, as in the Kinges name and your Gr. *expostulare cum Gambara*, to procure this contumely, and to put the K. H. and your Gr. by good words in comfort to send orators, and when they be here, first, to go about *inebriare bonis verbis, et dulcibus sirenum vocibus incantare.* Seconde, *Conari circumvenire per suos;* meanyng that they had moved Staphileus to be content with a generall commission. Thirdly, As men make hawks to the fist, *pretendere pugno carnem, et inhiantes et sequentes semper ludificare.*

Gambara for his defence said, that he spake no words of comforth to the K. H. ne your Gr. but such as he had in commission to say. I then, *converso sermone ad Papam*, sayd, that his Ho. handelyd the K. H. as thowe he had been the most ingrate man, and of mean sort, that could be mynding in his requests [to have so little regard][a] to requyte the same. The Popes Ho. sayd nothing, but sighed and wyped his eyes: and therupon Staphileus turning hymself to us said, that he toke yt as Goddes wyll, that we shuld come after hym, or ells the difficultie hereof shuld not have been beleved. I sayd, I thought it *Goddys wil* 71
indede, to thintent relation made by us of what condition

[a] The sense here somewhat imperfect, unless with some such supply of words.

men be here towards them, *qui optima promeruerunt*, the favour of that Prynce, who now only favorith them, shold be withdrawn, and taken away: *ut inclinata jam sedes apostolica tota corrueret, communi consensu atque applausu omnium.* At these words the Popes Ho. casting his armes abrode, bad us put in the words we varyed for: and therwith walked up and down the chamber: casting now and then his armes abrode, we standing in a great silence. And within a whyle his Ho., *compositis affectibus*, said unto us, that he was very sory he could not satisfie the K. H. desire of hymself, without the counsail of other. I answered, that I was as sory to see his Ho. had not so moch confidence in the K. H. and your Gr. as was supposed he had had. Thus we departed for that time, being an howre past midnight.

The divers tempests passed over, as Mr. Fox can more particularly shew unto your Gr. after the commissions were writen and sealed, we reasorted eftsones to the Popes Ho. and being with hym the foresaid Cardinals, al things were convened and spoken after a frendly and loving maner on ther part, with rehersal of the Kingis benefits and your Gr. merits, and how glad they wold be this matier were brought to conclusion after the Kingis desire. We alwayes answered, we thought this commission shuld not satisfie the K. H. and your Gr. Nevertheles we being *infima membra ecclesiæ* wold, *salva fide*, make such relation, and temper it so, as might further the acceptation of this commission. They desired us so to do, and to omyt and forget such altercations as had chanced. Fynally, his Ho. desired us to say and write to the K. H. and your Gr. that *rebus stantibus ut nunc sunt*, the sending of this commission is a declaration agaynst themperor, and that he commitith hymself to your protection.

As yet the Popes Ho. hath not required the Kinges pollicitation: and I do not offre it, abyding answer from your Gr. to such lettres, as we wrot from Paris to your Gr. concerning the same; and tyl I shal undrestond, how this commission contentith your Gr. being in my judgement as good as can be devised. And althow it be not in al poyntes so open as I wold have had it, and did conceyve the same, yet in effect it hath al can be desired, except the clauses of *confirmation* and *revocation*. Which of what moment they be I have written my opynyon to your Gr., and noted, *in margine* of the commissions by them graunted, and asked by us, the considerations of every clause and word material.

Here is no Cardinal, besides Campegius, mete in al qualities *obire hanc legationem*, but that age or sum other circumstance, expressed particularly by the lettres of me, Sir Gregory, to your Gr. hertofore, [are impediments.] Wherfore he fayling, there is no hope of any other. And to know his mynd, I Steven Gardyner repare now to Rome.

The commissions *in omnem eventum* be directed unto your Gr. and the said Campegius, to your Gr. alone *adjuncto*, &c. Which commissions althow they be not written in so fresh hand as they by our mynd shuld have; yet they 72
be to be taken in good part, being here so few writers; and noon that can skil, but one, who hath written these commissions and dispensations twyes, and at the last skaped with *sine aliqua menda in notabili loco.*

As towching the sending of letters to the Quene, inasmoch as the commission decretal doth not pass, the same letters cannot conteyne al specialtie of the mater. But in our judgment the Popes Ho. hath devysed a good way, to send a Frier with a breve of credence, and so to shew her what he thinkith. Wherin I besech your Gr. I may schortly know your pleasure, and also for deliverance of the Kingis pollicitation, with your Gr. mynd also, whether we shal now geve any rewards to them that have taken paynes, as Symonetta and other, the commission passed in this form; with knowlege of your Gr. pleasure also for my retorn, in case Cardinal Campegius cannot by reason of disease shortly cumme.

We have moved the Popes Ho. as towching the canonization of K. Henry the VIth. Who answerith, that he is very wel content to make schort process therin; but the matiers must be examyned here, requyring a nombre of Cardinalls therat, with other ceremonies: which cannot be doon there. Wherfore yf my Lord of Canturbury and my Lord of Winchester, who have examyned the matier *in partibus*, do send the proces hither, as ther commission requyred, the sentence of canonization shal shortly pass here. As concerning pardon to be graunted to Wyndesore colleage we can do nothing, abiding certainte from your Gr. of the name of that college, and how it is incorporate, *ne quid in ea re erretur.*

I spake to the Popes Ho. *in genere* for the matiers of your Gr. colleage: saying, that writing to your Gr. I wold nedys speke somewhat therof. His Ho. bad me write, that al things shold pass, which I could resonably desyre. Al other specialties Mr. Fox shal declare them unto your Grace. For which cause I omitt to write, being by reason of crying, speking, chafing and writing, ill distempered: trust that your Gr. wil have consideration therof, and accept this rude letter in good part, writen by night, and both minute of letters with my own hand: praying Almighty God long to preserve your good Grace. At Orviet, the Monday in Ester weke.

Number XXV.

Dr. Gardiner and Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Ambassadors with the Pope, to Cardinal Wolsey.

Foxii MSS.

PLEASITH it your Gr. to understond, that the Popes Ho. understanding, that the Emperor hath, in answer to the Kingis intimation, made mention of the Kingis matier, taking the same to stomack and herte, sayth, that by graunting this commission, denyal of inhibitions, which shal be requyred with the confirmation of the sentence, which must be passed by hym, he thynkith verily, that themperor shal take yt
73 more dyspleasantly, thenne yf his Ho. had declared hymself specially: considering the General being advertised of our sute hereof, hath freshly made sute to the contrary. By reason wherof his Ho. findeth hymself in a mervelous perplexitie and confusion among them of the liege, putting his only hope in the K. H. and your Gr. *in quorum verbo laxat rete.* For the Venecians, Florentynes, and the Duke of Ferrare, *convenerunt in unum*, as it is said, *novo fœdere inito*,

et super vestem suam miserunt sortem. The Fr. King differeth either to doo, or promyse any thing: and his Ho. advertised out of Fraunce, how the Fr. K. nothing effectually spekith in his just cause, is in total desperation of attayning any thing at his hand, onles it be at the instant request of the K. H. and your Gr. persuasions and reasons: for his Ho. sayth, he knoweth wel, that yf the Fr. K. had ernestly ment, that the Venecians shold restore the cities of Ravenna and Servia, and had in such sort pressed the Venecians so to do, the said cities had been restored long or this tyme: like as certain of the seignory of Venice have signyfyed to his Ho., advertiseing hym, that the grete Maister had taken the conducting of that matier with the Fr. K. thinking hym to be only the let, that other rusolution is not taken in the Fr. Court.

The Popes Ho. wylled us also to advertise your Gr. that the Fr. K. dayly callith upon hym to declare hymself. On thoder side Mounsr. De Lautrek sendeth hym word, that yf his Ho. do not declare hymself, he wil take hym as enemy. Amonges al which requests nothing certain is proponed unto hym, upon what conditions he shold declare hymself; but wold, that *sub spiritu charitatis* oon their partie his Ho. defrauded of his cities, he shold entre the same lege, *quasi pactis servatis,* the same cities neither restored indede, nor promyse made of their restitution. His Ho. thinketh, that of good equyte, yf they think he ought, as a confederate of the leyge, declare hymself, they shold at the lest offre hym promyse and make hym sure, to have that is his own, when he hath so doon. But therof he can hear no word; ne any thing is towched, wherunto his Ho. shuld trust: saying, that in this confusion thingis shal procede, unles your Gr. after your accustomed dexteritie, enterprise the direction therof with the Fr. K. and his Counsail: appoynting by capitulation what the Popes Ho. shal do, and what the same shal trust unto therfore. For where it is dayly requyred, that upon declaration made, his Ho. shuld procede to the deprivation of themperor, as wel of his empire, as also the realm of Naples, his Ho. thinketh, that *ista non sunt præ-*

cipitanda, but *maxima providentia transigenda*, as wel *in modo rei* as also *in re*.

First, *In modo rei*, his Ho. is of opinion, that process made of deprivation after hostilitie declared shuld not have *tantum ponderis*, as yf the same were doon by hym, interponing hymself as *mediatorem pacis ;* and upon that ground fynding themperor obstinate to make process of deprivation. Which shold be justifiable in the law. Wheras else *facta declaratione ex liga*, al his process might be impugned, *quasi ab hoste factus :* wherin he wil be advised by your Grace.

Seconde, *In re et ipso imperio et regno Neapolitano.* What shal be doon with them, *Cæsare privato.* For if his Ho. should *privare Cæsarem ;* and the Fr. K. have in mynde, for recovery of his children, to help themperor to them again, either *belli nullus esset finis*, or else his Ho. must *desultoria levitate privare et restituere*, at the pleasure of
74 the Fr. K. Wherof shuld ensue *maximum odium ecclesiæ ; et ejus postea aucthoritas in ea re vilipenderetur. Appareret enim non ob justitiam factum sed gratiam.* And in case the Fr. K. determine to make noon offre of them, yet it were to be foreseen bifore sentence of deprivation, who were most meet to be chosen; and that thing concluded, both the Princes to solicite the same, and the Popes Ho. to concurre therin, *ut electio talis procuretur :* lest there fal such an other error, as was in the election: wherin the Popes Ho. thinkith, that he shal have at his devotion foure of the electors. Like deliberation is to be had also for the realm of Naples: and that the person, to whom the said realm of Naples shalbe gyven, be first agreed upon by both Princes. Which things by your Gr. grete wysdom foreseen, maturely digested, and by certain capitulation agreed, and condescended unto by both Princes, there shal be a ground, wherupon to work in so grete a matier: or else that failing, *videbitur similis homini, qui ædificavit supra harenam.*

The matiers, althow they be of great importance, yet as hitherto *soli lenitati nituntur, et gravitatem consiliorum vestrorum abesse intelligit.* For yf the Fr. K. wold have themperor depryved, it agreeth not with that request, to let the going of the Bishop of Piscoye, who as yet can get no saulf conduit.

His Ho. saieth, that by letters dated the xxx. day of the last month, sent from the Cardinal Salviatis, resident in the French Court is advertised of the commyng of the Vicecounte De Turena towards his Ho. from the Court: having in commission but only *verba bona*, such as were geven unto the Prothonotary Gambara: and how that the Fr. K. hath sent oon to Veneyse for the Popes matier, without any special request to be made unto them, but only in general termes. Which the Venecians, onles they have the same effectual words spoken, or writen unto them from the Fr. K. which they have from the K. H. it is to be thought no effect shal ensue. And the matiers of Italy, being in such case as they be, and Mounsr. De Lautrek so prospering, the Popes Ho. thinketh, that the Fr. K. might, without fear, speke roundely to the Venecians, which they wold moch regard. The said Cardinal said also in his letters, that my Lord of Bath shewed hym, that he had nothing to speke in the Popes matiers for Ravenna and Cervia, untyl such tyme, as answer were cumme of the Kingis letters, sent to Veneise: wherunto as yet no answer is made, althow the same were delyvered xii. dayes past. And by such letters as I, Sir Gregory, have receyved thens, it is to be juged and thought it shal be contrary to the Popes purpose. The Popes Ho. desyred us to wryte the premisses to your Gr., saying, that for ordering them as your Gr. shal think good for his comfort and relief, *ad vestram prudentiam confugit, tanquam ad sacram aram.*

It hath been writen to the Prothonotary Gambara, that Mounsr. Moret, at his being in England, shold have said unto the K. H. and your Gr. how the said Prothonotary at his being with the Fr. K. shold have moch pressed hym for *Modena* and *Regium*. Which forasmoch as your Gr. requyred hym to the contrary, he wold be loth shold be persuaded unto your Grace: and specially considering the same is not trew. The said Prothonotary desired to write unto your Gr. therof, and to notifie unto the same, that after oon denyal made by the Fr. K. *converso ad alia sermone*, he spake no more therof.

75 Furthermore, forasmoch as the Popes Ho. is desirous to have a Nuncio resident with the K. H. the same to be such a personage, and of such qualities as might be grate and accepted of his Majestie, and your Gr. his Ho. desireth the same to signifie your Gr. opinion and mynd in that behaulf: so as according therunto he may provide oon accordingly.

This day the Popes Ho. shewed us letters, sent unto the same from Jeane, the copie wherof we send unto your Gr. herewith: willing us to write, that his Ho. thinkith the newes from thens to be of such importance, as onles good order be taken, it is to be feared, lest the Fr. K. shal lose both the devotion of that city, and also such sommes of mony as they have offred, and by good dexteritie might have been induced to pay. Wherof I, Sir Gregory, wrote unto your Gr. by my former letters. Wherfore the Popes Ho. thinkith, that yf your Gr. take paines in componing that matier, it shal moch help the common cawse: wheras ells *nova mutatio illius status contra sententiam Regis Gallorum*, might gretely encourage thenemies, like as your Gr. of your wysdome can considre. Thus having noon other matier of importance to write besides the newes of Naples, which Master Fox shal shew your Gr. by mouth, I shal desist from farther molesting your Gr. with my rude writing: praying Almighty God to preserve your Grace.

Number XXVI.

Dr. Fox to Dr. Gardiner; giving him a relation of his reception at Court, upon his return from his embassy.

MAYSTER Doctour, in my most hartie maner I commend me unto you: advertising the same, that the xxviith day of April, I wrote two lettres unto you: the oon from Paris, ascertayning you of myn arryval, and other occurrents there: the other in the felds upon my horse back iiii. myles from Clermonte; signyfying unto you, how that en-

countring Mr. Silvester Darius in the same place: who thenne was sent from the K. H. and my Lords Gr. Ambassador into Spayne, I had receyved of the same my Lords Gr. most honorable letters, directed to you, Mr. Gregory, and to me. And unfolding the same according to ther purport, I had eftsones closed, sealed and sent them to my L. of Bath, to be conveyed unto your hands with al diligence, as my trust is they be long ere this tyme. After which my letters sent unto you, I contynued stil my jornay, and came to Calais the xxviii. day of April: wher abyding passage untyl the second day of May, entred shipp, and arryved that night at Sandwich about xi of the clock. The day following, being Sonday, I made al diligence possible towards Grenewich, where the King lay, trusting there to have found my Lords Gr. with the K. H. Which undoubtedly I had doon, yf I had founde no less gratitude in the Maior of Canturbury, and the Baylyffes of Rochestre, and Gravesend, then we did in the territory of Florence: albeit his Gr. was departed thens two howres bifore my comming thider, being then fyve of the clock at night. At which my repaire the K. H. being advertised of the same, commanded me to go 76
unto Maisteres Annes chamber. Who at that tyme, for that my Lady Princess, and divers others of the Quenes maydens, were sick of the smal pocks, lay in the gallery in the Tiltyard.

And so admitted unto her presence, after declaration made unto the same in generaltie, first, of such expeditions as were obteigned; and sith of your singular fidelitie, diligence and dexteritie, used not onely in the impetration therof, but also in hastening the commyng of the Legate, with your most hartie and humble commendations: which she most thankfully receyved, and seamed to take the same most mervailously to harte, rejoice and comfort: oft tymes in communication calling me, Mayster Stevens, with promise of large recompence for your good acquytal in the premiss:

The Kingis Grace came into the same chambre: after whose entre she departed. And the K. H. calling me apart, first welcomed me home: sith commaunded, *quam possem* *brevissimè*, to shew hym what was doon in his cause. To which, after delivery of the Popes lettres, which his Highnes cawsed me to rede, and conteyned nothing but credence: as also of your lettres, which he secretly red to hymself; and also the letters of Bishop Staphile, which he red not; I answered, that wheras his Highnes had gyven us in commaundment, bifore our departing out of England, to obteign a dispensation and a commission, according to such tenor and form, as was here devised, we had, following his said commaundment, and my Lords Gr. instructions, pretermitted nothing, which might in any wise conduce to the furtherance therof. And how that first concerning the dispensation, we proponyng unto the Popes Ho. the nature of the said dispensation, how that it touched no poynt, ne perteined *ad jus tertii*, being also of such sort, that yf his Ho. wold graunt unto al princes christned the like therof, it might be to the grete quietnes of Christendom: many void and frivolous titles, and occasions of debates and variaunces, wont heretofore to be moved upon such ground, as in the said dispensation were taken away by such relaxation, and grace of the see apostolique clerly abolished: his Ho. very promply and facily had condescended unto the graunting therof: and that his Ho. had passed the same without alteration of any sentence or word, and sent the same by me unto his Highnes, desyring the same thankfully to accept it, like as the same did procede from the good assured hart, and benevolent mynd of his Ho. alwayes dedicated and consecrated, to do al that may be to the good satisfaction of his Majesty.

Furthermore, wheras we had made three degrees and kinds of commission, eche to be obteined in default of thother, although we had so instant and importune sute for the obteining of the first, called *the decretal*, as we possibly might, yet forsomoch as after long debating and consultation had upon the same with the Popes Ho. the Cardinals and other lerned men there, we could neither induce them by no persuasion, ne dulce, ne poynante, openly to confes or affirme, that the cause by us alleged, imployed so manifest justnes,

that the Popes Ho. might of right wysness geve out his decree without hering thodre partie, and make a commen lawe to be observed of all the world upon such a fact, conteining so doubtful justnes and equite: neither in our opinions and judgments, we could perceave the said decretal commission to be of such nature, that any process might 77
honorably be made by vertue therof, ne that it could ever come *in lucem*, without a great slaunder to the cawse; but that it shuld rather ministre to the adversarie such cawses *calumniandi et tergiversandi*, as might mervelously impeche the schort expedition of the same: ne that had any other use, strength or vertue, but one; which was in case the Popes Ho. by death, or captivitie prevented, wold not, or did not, confirme the sentence geven by delegates, that then it might serve *ad confirmationem:* ye in consideration therof had devysed another degree, and fashion of commission, conteyning al poynts of the said decretal, save two; *viz. sententiam Pontificis de jure*, with promyse of confirmation, and no revocation. Which commission, being, not only in our judgments, but also in the Popes, the Cardinals, and al other the lerned men there, of such sufficiencie, honorable sort, accustomed justnes and uprightnes, as nothing could be devised or requyred to be added therunto; and might stand either with the honor of the see apostolique, or his Majestie, and the final determination of his cawse, his Ho. had passed also right gladly, and had sent the same unto his Majestie, desyring hym with no less gratitude to accept it, then it had proceded from his Holines.

And as concerning the two poynts omitted, I shewed his H. although they were not expressed in the commission, yet his Ho. was right wel contented, and moch propence to satisfie his Ma. therin to the uttermost of his power; and as he might do with justice and equite, under this maner: that is to say, his Ho. wold make unto his H. so faithful and assured promyse under his seal, as might be requyred, that the sentence ones gyven bi the delegates, he wold most gladly, without respect or delay, confirme the same, and by the same also promyse never to revoke, ne geve inhibition to the contrary of the same commission.

All which thingis his H. semed to take mervelously thankfully; and made mervellous demonstrations of joy and gladnes, calling in Maisteres Anne, and cawsing me to repete the same thing agayn before her. And so inferred many questions. First what towardnes and benevolence I perceaved the Popes Ho. to be of towards his Majesty. Which I ceased not *verbis extollere:* rehersing how honorably his Ho. enterteyned us, admytting us into his presence, and geving audience, whensoever we requyred the same. And what paynes his Ho. toke in hering and examining his cawse; what words he spake unto us in extolling his benefits towards that see: how moch his Ho. pondered the imminent daungers to this realm, in case the Kingis purpose might not take effect: of what opinion his Ho. privatly was in the justnes of this cause: and so toke occasion to shew his H. how these opynyons were ingenerated and persuaded to the Popes Ho. by relation of my Lords Grace: and that without his letters we shold have obteined nothing there. For that the Popes Ho. shewed us, it was reaported unto hym long bifore our cummyng, the Kingis Grace followed in this matier *privatum aliquem affectum;* and that she was with child, and of no such qualities as shuld be worthie that Majestie. Albeit the contrary herof, so testified and declared by my Lords Grace, was of such waight and importaunce in the Popes brest and opinion, that afterwards his Ho. leaned to justice, and shewed hymself mervelous prone and glad to satisfie his requests so far as equite wold support and defend the same.

78 Sith he asked me what consultation was made by us with the lerned men of that Court. Wherunto I answered, mentioning the disputations *et diuturnos congressus*, which we had solemply before the Pope, and privatly in Mr. Gregory his howse. Wherin I ceased not to declare your lerning and vehemencie used: and also Mr. Gregory his diligence and aucthoritie. *De quibus malo aliorum prædicatione constet*

tibi, quam meis verbis. Certe sic mihi visus est affectus Rex erga te, ut sperem fore, quum nos omnes amici tui felicissime collocatam hanc operam tuam gloriabimur. Fynally, his H. demaunded of me what provision was made for recusation and appellation? I answered, There was inserted in the commission words, wherby the same was taken away so far as the law wold suffre, and might be expressed by words; as these, *Omni appellatione et recusatione remotis, et citra omnem personæ aut jurisdictionis gradum.* Which words declaring unto hym, he semed somewhat to be satisfied: albeit he said in that matier he wold my Lords Gr. judgement: and so commaunded me to go to his Gr. that night, and to shew hym the premisses.

Before I could come to Duresme Place, wheras my Lords Gr. lieth now, (the hal of York Place, with other edifices there, being now in building, my Lords Gr. intending most sumptuously and gorgeously to repaire and furnish the same,) it was past ten of the clock at night. And although my Lords Gr. was then in his bed, yet understonding of my cummyng, it pleased his Gr. to admitt me unto his presence. To whom declaring as bifore, and therto more specially how moch difficulty we found there in the passing of the commission obteined: and how that by no wayes we could impetrate the Decretall, his Gr. semed mervellously perplexed, thinking this commission to be of no better value then that was sent by Gambara. And after moch communication, he commaunded me to depart for that night, and to leave behind me the said commission, with the Popes and your lettres, and your *rationes justificatorias commissionis expeditæ.* Which after his Gr. had red in the morning, and his high wysdom well considered, and ponderyd the same; calling unto hym the Monday at afternone Maister Doctour Bell, and me to rede the same before hym, and in the presence of my Lord of Rochford, his Gr. opinion was moch confirmed, and was utterly persuaded, *astipulantibus etiam illis*, the said commission to be such as could be noon better excogitated or devised; and that the decretal commission was not to be shewed *in publicum:* and that ther might have been *recusatio* and *appellatio*, as wel yf process had been made by it, as by this, with many other reasons, which he of his innate and excellent wysdome most quickly invented, to the justification of your doing in this matier; with moch prayse and lawd geving unto you for the same.

And so departing for that night, his Gr. appoynted the morrow to have had Dr. Wolman and Dr. Benet with other, to consult with them upon the said commission: commanding me to go on the morow unto the K. H. and reaport his Gr. said opinion in the premisses: and furthermore, what new expedition his Gr. proposed to make unto you, to the hole and perfit consummation of the Kingis desires. Which by me declared unto his H. and hieghly approving the same, he remitted me again unto my Lord his Gr. that night. At which my commyng, his Gr. had not spoken with
79 the said Doctours, his Gr. being so occupied and deteined al that day in commen matters of the realm, with other of the Kinges Counsail, that he could not attend therunto. Nevertheles on the morow, being Weddensday at afternone, they al assembled before hym. And fynally, as it was reaported afterward unto me, being then absent, and by my Lords commaundment sent that morning to Grenewich, they al agreed to my Lords former opinion, eche man for his part extolling your wysdom, dexterity, and right excellent good conducting of this cawse.

Albeit after my retorning from Grenewich, that afternoon my Lords Gr. calling Mr. Peter and me, and instructing of such form of answer as his Gr. entended to make to the Popes lettres, and other, his Gr. also commaunded me to write unto you, under this tenor: although the K. H. and his Gr. also, considering your approved wysdom and knowlege in the lawes, and therto great paynes and labours used and susteigned by you in the impetration of the said commission and dispensation; with that the same hath proceded from the Popes Ho. and other his assessors there, purely, sincerely, without corruption or affection, other thenne to justice: and the same is here thought of al men to be so vailable and sufficient, as can be required, accept and take the said commission and dispensation so thankfully, and themself so satisfied with the same, that they repute and think themself not only singularly obstringed and bound to the Popes Ho. and the same of no gret urgent necessitie to be *amplius urgenda et solicitanda*, for any more ample commission, or farther validation therof; *Sed etiam passim ac palam deprædicent admirenturque virtutes tuas, nec cessant in hanc vocem prorumpere, O! non æstimandum thesaurum, margaritamque regni nostri;* to the comfurth and rejoice of us your pore frends here.

Yet my Lords Gr. as of hymself, by his hiegh wysdom, perpending and pondering the exoneration of his own conscience; and sith the consent, and concord, opinion and sentence of other the Prelates here: and fynally, the chaunces of mortalite, and such other as may of likelyhod fortune in this cause, to the total ruine and subversion of the same; willeth and desireth you eftsones to solicite and move the Popes Ho. and to experiment with the same, al kindys of persuasions you possibly by your wysdom and rhetorick can devyse and excogitate, to graunt the commission decretal in most secret fashion and maner, to be sent hither unto his Gr. for these cawses. First, his Gr. considereth, how this decree and sentence ones geven by the Popes Ho. *et judicio ecclesiæ*, might and ought to be unto his conscience *amussis et norma*, not onely to direct, instruct, and form the same, how to procede in this matier, especially in defining and determining the law upon those poyntes, whose justice is not yet so manifest, but by tergiversation of the adversary may peradventure be eftsones called into controversie: but also might be alwayes unto hym a sure and inexpugnable defence agaynst al detractours, and such as hereafter maliciously shold attempt the violation of the said sentence and decree. To whom it might alwayes be answered, his Gr. judgment was agreable and conform to that was gyven by the Church, and that his Gr. hath not varied from that was promulgated and enacted by aucthoritie of the same. Another cause is, for that having such commission decretal, his Gr. doubteth not, but by mean therof, he shal facily induce

80 al other, which ye know to be of thadversaries part here, to be of oon conformitie in sentence, and to concurr with his Gr. in the same opinion, judgment and decree. Which yf his Gr. might attayne, like as he thinketh the same shuld inestimably conduce, not only to the justification, but also to the honorable and perpetual establishing of the said cawse: his Gr. having alwayes wherewith he may *justissimè obstruere ora calumniantium, et temere dissentientium:* so without the said commission decretal his Gr. fearith he can by no other means persuade them, *ut in eandem sententiam conspirent*, they being *tam pertinaciter addictis illi sententiæ tuendæ quam semel susceperunt.*

Farthermore, my Lords Gr. advertising and noting *varios humanæ vitæ casus, quibus vita mortalium multis nominibus obnoxia est*, thinketh to enter first, *Pelagus illud judiciorum*, openly to ventilate and examyn the same cawse, to labour and endeavour by al means possible to bring it to perfit determination, end and conclusion: and yet al those his doings, to hang upon *sola voluntate Pontificis, scil. si velit confirmare.* Whose *voluntas* may be *infinitis modis* letted, yea and *prorsus* alienated from that towardnes and benevolence, which he is of now towards the Kingis Hieghnes, he could not *subterfugere notam summæ temeritatis, et nihil aliud quam frustra nitendo odium quærere videretur:* like as of your wysdom ye have oft tymes hertofore considered and waied the premisses, and also openly declared the same there unto the Popes Ho. so habundantly, and with such energie, *ut ego tam multis non aliud videar facere, quam sus Minervam, et bene memorem temere monere.*

Fynally, it is specially to be noted and regarded, and the same by your good dexteritie to be persuaded unto the Popes Ho. how moch it might conduce to the weal and restauration of that see, my Lords Gr. to be of such auctoritie, favor, credit, and estimation with the K. H. and so by stedfast and indissoluble amite colligate unto the same; that whatsoever his Gr. shuld advyse, exhorte and counsail, his H. shuld be by the same facily condescended unto the good accomplishment therof. And by what means may that be so perfectly attained, the K. H. being so desirous of good succes in this his cawse, as and yf the Popes Ho. of his paterne goodnes and benignitie, shuld now only at the contemplation of my Lords Gr. and upon the singular confidence which he hath collocate in his hiegh wysdom, conscience and devotion toward that see, graunt this commission decretal, to the perfect and consummate end and decision of the said cawse?

Wherfore and in consideration of the premisses, his Gr.
willeth and desireth you, that sith his Gr. intendeth never
to make process by vertue therof, ne that it shal at any
tyme be published, or shewed to any person in the world:
wherby may arise any the lest slaunder, oblique dammage
or prejudice to the see apostolique, or to the Popes person,
with that also his Gr. entendeth nothing but by shewing
therof to the K. H. to acquire such authorite and favour of
the same, as might turn to the singular avauncement, inestimable benefite, and perpetual wealth of that see. Of
which thing his Gr. willith also you make faith and promise *in animam suam*, under most sacred oth and obtestation unto his Holynes: ye by your accostomed dexterite
and wysdom yet eftsones move the Popes Ho. to pass the
said decretall: using, for obteigning therof, al goodly and
dulce wayes you can devyse, without concitating hym by
any scharp words of discomfort. And in case after iii or 81
iiii congresses ye see no liklihode, but rather be in ful
dispair, to relent and cesse your suit, without any farther
molesting in that behaulf: and so retorne home with diligence, leaving that sute to be prosecuted by Mr. Gregorie,
and other the Kings agents and frends there.

These things by you thus proponed and set forth, and taking such effect as can be obteined there, his Gr. farthermore desireth you, that forasmoch as the *juris consulti* here *nihil aliud fere habeant in ore*, but, The Quene may recuse, The Quene may appeal, ye wold therfore make a consultation with the best lerned men in that Court, whether she may doo so, or no. And in case she do either of them, thanne of what effect, value or strength it is, and how moch it may let the process in the cawse. And whether that notwithstonding, the Legates may procede: and fynally, what remedy is to be used in remission of the appeal, and confirmation of the sentence *per superiorem judicem*. And whether the appeal hanging, the parties may *redire ad nova vota* before confirmation, or any other like scruple, and doubt, which you know, may aryse in this matier. And the sentence of the said lerned men, to bring home with you subscribed and signed with their hands.

His Gr. also, discussing, and right wel approving *rationes illas justificatorias commissionis expeditæ*, by you there devysed, and sent hither by me: which also you shal receyve agayn here enclosed, *nè forte illarum exemplar perierit tibi*, desireth you to cause the same to be red and examined by the said lerned men: they to add and augment the same by reasons and auctoritie: and so by them approved and subscribed as afore, to bring them in like maner with you. These my Lords Gr. requests and pleasures, although by his own letters directed unto you thei be more amply declared, and in far better termes touched, yet sith his commaundement was I shuld commit the same to writing, and by my rude letters advertise you therof, al Thursday following I attended the penning hereof, being for lack of cunnyng and experience in such kind of stile very paynful unto me.

The Friday following, Mr. Tuke then having perfected my said Lords Gr. expedition unto you, it pleased his Gr. to cal me to here the reding therof: and so after long communication had, his Gr. willed me to exhibite unto hym the minute of this my letter. Which doon, his Gr. commaunded me to go unto the K. H. to reaport the effect of the said expeditions, and also to bring unto hym the copy of the Popes lettres to be writen of his own hand. Which his H. receaving and remitting me again to my Lords Gr. semed to desire nothing so moch as the said expedition to be wel set forth by you, and your retorning with al celeritie.

The Saturday following, my Lord calling Mr. Bell and me eftsones to his presence, after moch consultation and deliberation had concerning the said expedition, commaunded me to desire you by my lettres in his Gr. name, over and besides the premisses, to make consultation there with Staphile and such other, as your wysdom shal think good, for their lerning and discretion, this matier to be communicated unto. First, in case the Quenys Grace omitting al such benefit and privilege, which she might pretend to have by the dispensation of Julius, and refusing to entre the disputation of the validite of the same, like as his Gr. is perfectly enformed, by some of her Counsail, that she wil do, and recurring only to this allegation, *Quod non fuit cognita ab* 82 *Arthuro:* whether than, and in case the said allegation shold prove true, the said bul be not *prorsus* invalidate, by reason there is no mention made in the same *de publica honestate.* For sith the bul dispensith only *cum affinitate cujusmodi*, yf her allegation shuld be true, *nulla intercessit inter contrahentes*, and being necessary the same to be dispensed with, argueth the matrimony to be illegitimate in his Gr. opynion. Wherin his Gr. wold gladly be resolved by your and other lerned mennys judgments there, to be by you enquired; and certificate therof to be made to his Gr. as before.

Moreover, wheras the words of the commission be such, *ut primum pronuncietur et declaretur validitas aut invaliditas bullæ: deinde, ut decernatur matrimonium illegitimum, aut contra: postremò, ut feratur sententia divortii:* his Gr. is in no lytil doubt, the lerned men here not wel dissolving the same, whether his Gr. ought by ordre of the law not to vary *a præscripto commissionis:* and so to geve thre several sentence in these three casys, or els *una sententia de nullitate matrimonii:* by which *tacitè fertur sententia de invaliditate dispensationis, et altera de divortio:* his Gr. may wel satisfie his commission: and for so doyng no fawte or error may be arrected unto hym. In dissolving and explaining these doubts, although his Gr. knowing your approved wysdom and lerning, willeth and intendith to adhere and follow your judgment and opinion so moch as any other mans elswhere, according to his especial trust and confidence in you; yet to thintent your sayings might have gretter authoritie and vehemencie with other men, and that somewhat peradventure might be added also by them to the confirmation therof; his Gr. is moch desirous and hertely praieth ye wil adhibite some lerned men *in consilium* in the premisses, to here their phantasies and opinions in the same. So that ye may come home *plenissimè et perfectissimè instructus*, to discuss and make plaine all things, which in this matier shal have any visage of doubt or ambiguite.

And specially, above al things, forsomoch as his Gr. intendeth in this cawse of so hiegh consequence, wherin dependeth the wealth or ruine of this realm, the conservation of his honour, or els immortal ignomynie and slaunder, the damnation of his soule, or els everlasting merit, to procede according to due ordre of justice, and to ground and firme his conscience upon so perfect and infallible rule of equite, that before God he may accompte hymself discharged, ne to have doon any thing *reclamante conscientia:* and having, among other, in his Gr. own opinion, oon specially just and stedfast base and fundation to ground right wysly his conscience therupon, *viz. Quod Rex ipse nescierit prorsus de impetratione bullæ:* wherof he is ascertayned not only by the Kingis relation, but also by my Lord of Winchestre: his Gr. willith and desirith you, ye wil under most secret maner, *et tacitis nominibus, ne videatur, viz. dubitare de justitia causæ, quam toties deprædicavit*, enquire of Anconitane, or els some other of like lerning, whether the said ground be so justifiable, and of such sort as his Gr. might wel build his conscience upon, without grudge or scruple hereafter.

Thinking here to have fynished these my letters; and the Sonday following going to Grenewich with my Lords Gr. who than fully purposed there, and that same day, to have
83 depeched thens unto you with al such expeditions as his Gr. here sendeth unto you by Mr. Barloo; after the same was redd and declared by my Lords Gr. unto the K. H. being therat present Maister Tuke, Maister Wolman, Maister Bell, and I; there was by the said Maister Wolman oon other doubt and scruple found and objected, wherof the

King and my Lords Gr. thought it very necessarie to advertise you, to thintent you shal communicate the same with such practitioners and wel lerned men, as ye shal find there: and by the deliberate advyse and counsail of them, know the perfect resolution and verite therof. The doubt was thus, that forsomoch as by vertue of the said commission, containing both *officium nobile* and also *mercinarium*, the said Legates may, *in cognitione super validitate et invaliditate cujuscunque bullæ producendæ aut exhibendæ*, use and procede *ex officio nobili:* and *in pronuntiando et declarando matrimonium nullum*, they must nedys use *mercinario*, and cannot geve sentence, *nisi ab altera parte petatur.* And moreover, wheras unto this part is added, *Prout animo conscientiæque vestræ juris ratio persuaserit*, it may wel be thought and doubted, whether by addition of this last clause, the other particles, *viz. omni appellatione et recusatione remota*, and also *citra omnem personæ aut jurisdictionis gradum*, be restrained; and lose such vigor and strength, as the words importeth, and might be moch better defended to have, yf the said clause had not been added therunto. The cause of doubtance is this. For sith *juris ratio* commaundeth and willeth that *omnis recusatio et omnis item appellatio justa audienda sit et admittenda:* and they in proceding *ad dissolutionem matrimonii* must nedys do as *juris ratio persuaserit;* it semeth plainly, that although in the first process, *ex officio nobili*, al recusation and appellation be taken away by the said clauses, yet in this second process and cognition, the said clauses be restrained and altered by thaddition of this article, *juris ratio persuaserit:* and that by reason therof, the Quenys Grace may alwayes recuse and appell at her good pleasure and libertie, from whatsoever decree or sentence, either interlocutorie, or definitive, she wil: and so protract and deferre the decision of this matier; and fynally frustrate the Kingis expectation, to the utter and extreme peril of al those, that have intromedled them in this cawse: unles by your wysdom, wherin is our grete hope and trust, ye can so mayntayne and conduce these cawses, that both the justnes of the Kingis cawse, and also al delayes or tracts of the tyme, which may be lawfully used by thadversarie in the process of this cause, be openly and playnly declared and made manifest to the K. H. by your sentence, confirmed with the opynyons and judgments of other lerned men there.

Wherin you may boldly write and say according to your lerning, the Kingis Grace being of so perfit mynd and inclination to do nothing in this mater contrary to the accustomed maner and just process of the law: being also fully persuaded, that the Quenys Grace, having and using the benefit of appellation, or other remedy, shal moch avaunce and conferr to the honour and surety of his cawse. Which opinion and good conformitie to justice, like as it hath been by my Lords Gr. hiegh wysdom, by lytyl and litil instilled into the Kingis brest; so his Gr. ceaseth not dayly to increase the same by mervelous prudent handeling and dexteritie. Insomoch that yesterday to my great mervail, and no less joy and comforth, his Gr. openly, in presence of Mr. Tuke,
84 Mr. Wolman, Mr. Bell, and me, made protestation to the Kingis H. "that although he was so moch bound unto "the same, as any subject might unto his prince; and by "reason therof his Gr. was at so perfit devotion, faith and "loyalte towards his Ma. that he could gladly spend goods, "blode and lief in his just causes; yet sith his Gr. was "more obliged to God, and that he was sure he shuld rendre "an accompt *de operibus suis* before hym; he wold in this "matier rather suffer his hiegh indignation, yea and his "body joyntly to be torn on peices, then he wold do any "thing in this cawse otherwise than justice requireth; ne "that his H. shuld loke after other favour to be ministred "unto hym in this cawse, on his Gr. partie, thanne the just- "nes of the cawse wold beare. But yf the Bul were suffi- "cient, he wold so pronounce it, and rather suffre *extrema* "*quæque* than to do the contrary, or els *contra conscientiam* "*suam.*"

Postscripta. You shal undrestond, that although the K. H. pleasure be at ful, and in most ample wyse, declared unto you by my Lords Gr. his instructions; yet his H. having perfit confidence, that his auctoritie is as it ought to be unto you, *sacrosancta*, and of more waight and moment than any others; to thintent, that you being more specially advertised of his requests and desires by his private letters, shold more specially regard, tendre, and study to accomplish the same, to thuttermost of your powers: this Monday his H. sending for me apart, commaunded me to write these letters as from his H. unto you, and to advertise you in the same of two things; which his H. considereth and thinkith above al other things to be set forth by you *cum effectu.* The one is the commission decretal to be obteigned according to my Lords Grace instructions now sent. When in using such reasons as is there expressed unto you, in case ye be in dispair of impetrating the same; ye then, Maister Stephens, shuld say unto the Popes Ho. that ye be right sory, and in mervellous perplexitie of mind, how the said denyal of so just and reasonable petition shal be taken, and may work in the Kingis brest; and that you be in great fear, knowing the nature and condition of your Prince and master; lest that his H. interpretating the same, and al that hath been doon hitherto to have proceded either of vain fear, or of dissembled frendship, and covert deceit, to thintent his Gr. shuld stil be undre their yoke and bondage; shuld hereafter alienate his mynd from such devotion and amite, as he berith now to the Popes person. Specially sith his Ho. did never hertofore do any thing in any his private causes, and now deny his first petition: which he may lawfully graunt: and shalbe assured, that it shal never turn to the prejudice or dammage of his Holynes. Which words spoken by you, Maister Stephens, his H. wil is, that ye than cease of further sute therin: and that ye and Mr. Gregory with al craft, wayes and means possible, attempt the obteyning the said decretal: like as his H. special trust is in you, and as ever you intend to do thing acceptable to his Grace, persuading to your self this to be the thing; the attayning wherof shal so hieghly content his Gr. *ut nihil supra dici aut excogitari possit.*

85 Number XXVII.

A note of such records concerning the divorse of K. Henry VIII. from Quene Katheryn Dowager; remeyning in the custodie of my Lord Theasorer and Chamberleyns of thexchequer. Found among the MSS. of the L. Treasurer Burghley.

IMPRIMIS Lra. Clementis Papæ ad Regem, nominando Cardinalem Campegium Legatum suum. Dat 8° Julii, 1529.

Articulus additionalis concernens protestationem regiam.

Pollicitatio Campegii.

Testimonium Notarii Patavin. concern. determinationem Universitatis Padum. in matrimonio Regis.

Appellatio Regis a Romano Epo. ad futurum Concilium generale.

Sententia Universitatis Bononen. super matrimonium Regis.

Citatio Reginæ coram Epo. Ebor. et Cardinal. Campegio.

Duæ testificationes determinationis Patavien. super matrimonium Regis.

Eboracen. Cleri assertio super duabus quæstionibus.

Opinio duorum Doctorum super, &c.

Assertio Prælatorum Provinciæ Cantuar. super, &c.

Processus Thomæ Cardinal. Ebor. in causa Regis ante commissionem a Romano Epo. constitutam.

Dispensatio pro matrimonio Regis Henrici VII. et Elizabethæ Reginæ in quarto genere [gradu] consanguinitatus, &c.

Determinatio Universitatis Andegavensis super matrimonium Regis.

Attestationes Dne. Bowrcher.

Articulus additionalis concern. transcriptum brevis.

Attestationes quorundam nobilium et aliorum, quæ faciunt ad causam regiam.

Transumptum Francisci Catuli Veneti.

Transumptum Jacobi a Lawsanna.

Sententia definitiva Epi. Cantuar. super, &c.

Copia determinationis Decani facultatis Theologiæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

Reasons to prove the general Councel to be above the Pope.

Causæ impugnantes matrimonium, &c.

Duodecim literæ testimoniales super scrutinio registri brevium.

Transsumptum Doctorum et Advocatorum Parisiensium; quod Rex Angliæ non tenetur comparere Romæ.

An exemplification of certen wrytings concerning the great affaires. [affair.]

Testificatio octo Episcoporum Angliæ, quod Regis conscientia in causa Dougeriæ erat mota ex gravibus causis.

Determinatio Universitatis Aurelian. super, &c.

Concilium Doctorum Parisien. in decretis pro causa Regis contra dispensationem.

Literæ Regis ad Clementem Papam. 86

The oath of Thomas Lee Busshop of York, to the King.

Determinatio Theologorum Parisien. super, &c.

Liber impressus Raphaelis Comensis super, &c.

Transsumptum brevis Clementis.

Literæ Gregorii Casselin ad Regem.

The copie of thinstrument that was graunted and sealed by the College of Divines of Ferrare.

A Note of a brief of Pope Julius, making for our cause.

Transsumptum Capitulorum inter Divinos, &c. cum olim.

A conditional dispensation for the Kings Majesty, from the Busshop of Rome.

Sententia Facultatis Decretorum Doctorum Parisien.

Decanus et Facultas Theologorum Parisien. in causa Regin.

Revocatio Clementis Papæ censurarum contra regem promulgatarum.

Requisitio Cleri Convocationis Cant.

Sententia Aurelien.

Sententia Universitatis Bituricen. super, &c.

Revocatio Cardinalis Campegii ad Romam.

Duæ literæ Cardinalis Chrysogonii ad Regem.

The copie of the Kings letters to the Busshop of Rome.

Sententia Universitatis Theolosium, super, &c.

Requisitio Cleri Convocationis Ebor.

A transsumpt of the determination of Orleance, that the King ought not to appear at Rome.

Rationes probantes Regem non deberi excommunicari causa divortii.

Sententia Universitatis Patavin. super, &c.

The Sentence of thinvalidity of the matrimony between the Kings Highness and the Lady Katheryn Dowgier, pronounced by my Lord of Canterbury.

A Request of the Kings Subjects, that the cause of the Dowgier should be determined within the realm.

In pixide.

Duæ bullæ concernentes dispensationem matrimoniorum inter Arthurum et Katherinam, et Henricum fratrem ejus, et eandem Katherinam.

Item, Bulla facta Cardinali Ebor. ad cognoscendum in causa matrimoniali inter regem Henricum Octavum, et Katherinam Reginam.

Item, A bundle of letters, cyphers and other books and copies, concerning the managing of the sayd Kings great matter.

87

Number XXVIII.

The names of al such parsonages as bene to be impropried unto Cardinal college in the University of Oxford.

Cleopatra, E.iv.p.273.

County.	*Parsonage.*	*Diocess.*
Oxon.	THE parsonages of Hedyngton, Marston, Sydley, Churchill, Fritwel and Elfeld	Lincoln.
Bucks	Wornal, Orle, Bril, and Borstall	
Northamp.	Preston *magna*, Preston *parva*, Welton, West-Haddon, Starton, Norton, Cold Asheby, Daventry, Thorpmonwel	
Leicest.	Foxton, and Scalford, Dunton Basset and Rakedale	

Rutland.	Bisbroke	Lincoln.
Bucks	Rowenston, Chichelsy, Newport Paynel, Bradwel, Astwode, and Willyn, Ellesbridg	
Warwick	Aston, Bromewich	Cov. and Litchf.
Stafford	West Bromewich	
Barksh.	Chadelworth and Kyngiston	Sarum.
Essex	Gynge Mounteney, Stanesgate and Steple, Typtree and Toleshunt, Horkisleigh, Wikes, and Wormyngfeld, Alvethley, Reynham, and Elmonden	London.
Hertford	Hormede	
Middlesex	Maribone	
Suffolk	Chettesham, and Swillond, Dodnesh and Falkenham, Snape, Freston, and Bedingfeld, Denarston	Norwich.
Kent	Newington, and Marden, Tewdely, Brencheley, Leighe, and Yalding, Pepynbury, and Depford	Roffen.
Surrey	The moyety of the parsonage of Goddistone	Winton.
Sussex	Begham, Haylesham, and Hellynglye	Cichest.

88 Cleopatra, E. 4.

Number XXIX.

Here follow the monasteries, layd to the Cardinal college: together with the counties where each lay, their founders, and values spiritual and temporal: the spirituals in many places being neer the value of the temporalls.

Monasteries.	*Counties.*	*Founders.*	*Values.*
Daventre	Northampt.	The King	£ 236 7 6
Ravenston	Bucks		66 13 4
Tykford	Bucks		126 17 0
Frideswide	Oxford		284 8 9
Letlemore	Oxford		33 6 8
Liesnes	Kent		186 9 0
Tonbridg	Kent		169 10 3
Wykes	Suffolk [Essex]		92 12 3¼
Snape	Suffolk		99 1 11¼
Sandewel	Bucks [Staf^d.]	Lord Dudley and Tho. Stanley of Stafford	38 8 7
Canwel	Leicestersh.	Lord Lizle; and by fine hath released his title to the same	25 10 3
Poghley	Barks	Abbess of Amesbury	71 11 7
Thobie	Essex	John Mounteney, Fitz Herbert and Jermyn	76 6 10¼
Blackamore	Essex	Earl of Oxford	85 4 7
Stanesgate	Essex	Prior of Lewes	43 8 6
Typtree	Essex	Anthony Darcy	22 16 4
Horkisleigh	Essex	Sir Roger Wentworth in right of his wife	27 7 11
Dodneshe	Suffolk	Duke of Norfolk; and by fine hath released his title	42 18 8¼
Begham	Sussex	Richard Sackvyle	152 19 4¼
Calceto	Sussex	Earl of Arundel, and Bp. of Chichester	34 10 0

Summa totalis diversorum maneriorum et aliarum possessionum tum spiritual. tum temporalium prædict. - - - - 1913 0 3¼

That is, In spirituals - - - - - - - - - - 570 5 6

In temporalls - - - - - - - 1342 14 9

Number XXX.

89

Edmund, Abbot of York, to Cardinal Wolsey; to spare the priory of Romeburg.

PLEASYTH your Grace to understand, that I, your poor orator, have lately received certain letters from our Prior of Romeburgh, with other our brethren there being. By whose proport I perceive that your Graces pleasure is to suppress the said priory of Romeburgh; and also to unite, annex and improper the same unto the church of S. Peters in Ipiswich. And for the accomplishment of the same, as they write unto me, your Officers came unto the said priory the 11th day of this present month, and there, after the reading of certain letters commissional, not only of your Grace, but also of our holy Father the Pope, and of our Soveraign Lord the King, for the same purpose directed, entred into the said priory: and that don, took away as wel the goods moveable of the said priory, being a member of our monastery, and given unto us by Alien Niger sometime Earl of Richmond, and our second Co-founder. By whose gift, next unto the Kings Grace, we have had most benefits, lands and profits given us; (by reason wherof we be most notably charged with masses, suffrages, and other alms deeds, for his benefits to us most chargeably exhibit) but also certain muniments, evidences, and specialties touching and appertaining unto our monastery, which we had lately sent unto our said Prior and brethren there, for the trial of certain lands and rights which lately did depend, between us and men of worship in Cambridgshire, in controversy, and yet doth depend undecised; and for no other purpose. Cleopatra, E. 4. p. 47.

In consideration wherfore, if it might please your Grace, forasmuch as we have a great part of our lands granted unto us by reason of the said Alien Niger; wherby we be dayly charged, as doth appear by composition made between us and the said Alien Niger, and also confirmed by Boniface the IV. *anno sui pontific. tertio*, under certain censures and pains, with clauses *derogatory*, as more largely by the said grant doth appear; that the said priory might consist and

abide as a member of our monastery, as it hath don 300 years, and more, with your Graces favour. Your Grace shal not only put me and my brether to a great quietnes, but also take away many sundry doubts and great perils of the remedy of our lands granted unto us by the said Earl: which be right notable, if the same suppression or alienation no further procede: and beside that, minister unto us a more notable act, than ye had given us ten times more lands than unto the said priory doth appertain and belong. But of truth the rents and revenues to the same priory belonging doth very little surmount of thirty pounds sterling, as far as I perceive. And yet toward your spiritual, honorable and laudable purpose concerning the erection and foundation of the same college and school, I am right intyrely contented, for your tendering of the premisses, to give unto your Grace CCC mark sterling, which shalbe delivered unto your Grace immediatly. Most humbly beseeching your Grace to accept my poor mind towards your
90 most noble act, which should be far better, if that my little power therunto would extend. Protesting ever, that if your Graces pleasure be to have the said priory to the purpose above recited, that then with my study, diligence and labour, shal continually endeavour my self for the accomplishment of the same, according as my duty is. Trusting ever that your Grace wil se our poor monastery no further hindred, but that we may in time coming live like religious men, and serve Almighty God with our number determinate; and hereafter avoid both in law and good conscience al perils that therby may ensue; and also pray for our founder, benefactors, and your good Grace, accordingly to the foundation of our monastery, as our duty is. And so knoweth Jesus, who preserve your most noble Grace in high honour and great prosperity long to continue. From our monastery of York the xx day of September.

Your most bounden Bedeman,
Edmond Abbot of York.

Number XXXI.

Cardinal Wolsey to Secretary Gardiner; to inform him of the Kings consultation concerning him.

To the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary.

MYN owne goode Mastyr Secretary, Albeit I am in such altiration, and indyssposition of my hede and body by the meansse of my dayly sorowe and hevynes, that I am fen ommit to writ any long lres.: yet my trustyng frend, Thomas Crowmwel, retornyng and reparyng onto yow, I cowde nat forbere, but brively to put yow in remembrance: how that aftyr the consultation takyn by the Kyngs Hyghnes opon myn orderyng, which ye supposyd shulde be on Sunday was sevynight, ye wolde nat fayle to advertyse me at the leynth of the specialties therof. Of the wich to here and have knowleg, I have and dayly do loke for. I pray yow therfore at the reverens of God, and of thys holy tyme, and as ye love and tendyr my poore lyf, do so moche as to wrytt onto me your seyd lres.: wherby I may take some cumfort and rest: nat dowttyng but your hert is so gentyl and pityfull, that havyng knowleg in what agony I am yn, ye wole take the payne to send onto me your seyd consollatory lres. Wherby ye shal nat onely deserve towards God, but also bynde me to be as I am, your contynual bedysman. Wrytten thys mornyng at Asher, with the rude hand and soroweful hert of yours with hert and prayer, MSS. G. H. Eq. aur.

T. Carlis Ebor. miserrimus.

Number XXXII. 91

The Cardinal to the Secretary; to draw up his pardon, granted by the King.

To the Ryght Honorable, and my syngulur good frende Mayster Secretary.

MY owne goode Mastyr Secretary, Aftyr my moste herty recommendations, with lycke thanks for your goodnes towards me, thes shal be to advertyse yow, that I have beyn MSS. G. H. Eq. aur.

informyd by my trusty frend Thomas Crownwel, that ye have signifyed onto hym, to my syngular consolation, how that the Kynges Highnes, movyd with pety and compassyon, and of hys excellent goodnes, and cheryte, consyderyng the lamentable condition, and stat, that I stand yn, hath wyllyd yow, with other Lords and Mastyrs of hys honorable Cownsell, to intende to the perfyghtyng and absolvyng, without further tract or delay, of myn end, and appoyntement; and that my pardon shulde be made in the moste ample forme, that my Cownsell cowde devyse. For thys the Kyngs moste gracyous remembrance, procedyng of hymself, I accompt my sylf not ondly moste bowndyn to serve and pray for the preservation of hys moste royal Majeste, but also thancke God, that ye have occasion geven onto you to be a sollyciter, and setter forth of such thynges; as do and shal conserve my seyde ende. In the making and compownyng wherof, myn assuryd truste is, that ye wole shewe the love and affection, wych ye have, and bere towards me, your olde lover and frende: so declaryng your sylf therin, that the worlde may parceyve, that by your good meanys the Kyng ys the bettyr goode Lorde unto me: and that nowe newly in maner commyng to the world, ther may be such resspect had to my poore degre, olde age, and longe contynuyed servys, as shal be to the Kyngs hygh honor, and your gret prayse and laude. Wych ondowtydly shal folowe, yf ye optinde yowr benyvolens towards me, and men perceyve that by yowr wysdome and dexterite I shalbe relevyd, and in thys my calamyte holpen. At the reverens therfore of God, myn owne goode Mr. Secretary, and refugy, nowe set to your hande, that I may come to a laudable ende and reposse; seyng, that I may be furnyshyd aftyr such a sorte and maner, as I may ende my short tyme and lyff to the honor of Crystes Churche, and the Prince. And besydys my dayly prayer and true hert, I shal so requyte your kyndnes, as ye shal have cause to thyncke the same to be wel imployd, lycke as my seyd trusty frende shal more amply shewe onto you. To whom yt may please yow to geve firme credens and lovyng audyens. And I shal pray for the increase of your Honor. Wryttyn at Asher with the tremyllyng hand and hevy hert of your assuryd lover and bedysman,

T. Car$^{lis\cdot}$ Ebor.

Number XXXIII. 92

The Cardinal to the Secretary; praying him to favour the cause of the Provost of Beverly; and to intercede with the King for him and his colleges.

To my right entierly welbiloved friende Mr. Stephyn Gardener, Secretary to the Kyngs Highnes.

MYNE awne gentil Maister Secretary, After my mooste herty recommendations, these shal be to thanke you for the greate humanite, lovyng and gentil recule, that ye have made unto the poore Provost of Beverly: and specialy, for that ye have in such wise addressed hym unto the Kings Highnes presence, that his Grace not onely hath shewed unto hym, that he is his goode and gracious Lorde, but also that it hath pleased hys Majeste to admitte and accepte hym as his poore orator and scoler. Wherby both he and I accompte our selfs so bounden unto you, that we cannot telle how to requite this your gratitude and kyndenes; mooste hartely praying you to contynue in your good favour towards hym, and to take hym and his pore causis into your patrocynye and protection. And, as myne assured expectation, and trust is, to remember the poor state and condition that I stond in, and to be a meane to the Kings Highness for my relefe in the same. In doyng wherof ye shal not onely deserve thanks of God, but also declare to your perpetual laud and prayse, that ye beyng in auctorite, have not forgoten your olde maister and frynde. And in the wey of charite, and for the love, that ye bere to vertue, *et ad bona studia*, be meane to the Kyngs Highnes for my poore colleges. And specially for the college of Oxford. Suffer not the things, which by your greate lernyng, studie, counsaile and travaile, hath bene erected, founden, and with good statutes and ordinances, to the honor of God, increase MSS. G. H. Eq. aur.

of vertue and lernyng establisshed, to be dissolved or dismembred. Ye do knowe, no man better, to what use the monasteries, suppressed by the Popis licence, the Kyngs consente concurryng with the same, and a pardon for the *premoneri*[a], be converted. It is nat to be doubted, but the Kyngs Highnes of his high vertue and equite, beyng informed how every thing is passed, his mooste gracious licence and consente (as is aforesaid) adhibited therunto, wol never go aboute to dissolve the said incorporations or bodyes, wherof so greate benefite and commodite shal insue unto his realme and subjects. Superfluities, if any such shal be thought and founden, may be resecat; but to destroy the hole, it were to greate pitie.

Eftsones therefore, good Maister Secretarie, I beseche you to be good maister and patrone to the said colleges; *et non sinas opus manuum tuarum perire, aut ad nihilum redigi.* Thus doyng, both I and they shal not onely pray for you, but in such wise deserve your paynes, as ye shal have cause to thinke the same to be wel bestowed and imployed, like as
93 this present berer shal more at the large shewe unto you. To whom it may please the same to geve firme credence. And thus mooste hartely fare ye wel. From Sothewell[b] the xxiiid day of July.

Your lovyng frende,
T. Car^{lis}. Ebor.

[a] Præmunire.

[b] An antient seat in Nottinghamshire, belonging to the Archbishops of York.

Number XXXIV.

The Cardinal to the Secretary; to bee his friend in a suite with Mr. Strangwish, for a debt of 700l.

To the Right Honorable, and my syngular good friende Mr. Doctor Stephyns, Secretary to the Kings Highnes.

MSS. G. H. Eq. aur.

MYNE awne good Maister Secretary, After my mooste harty recommendations, these shal be to desire, and moost effectuelly to pray you to be good maister and friende unto me, concernyng the uncharitable sute of Strangwishe for vii^{c} *li.*, which he pretendith, that I shulde owe unto hym, for the ward of Bowes. And albeit ther was at his firste comyng to my service, by our mutual consents, a perfecte end made betwene hym and me for the same, yet nowe digressyng therfrom, perceyvyng that I am out of favour, destitute of socour, and in calamite, he not onely newly demaundyth the said vii^{c} *li.* but also hath made complaint unto the Kyngs Highnes, surmittyng, that I shulde, contrary to justice, deteyne from hym the said vii^{c} *li.* For the redresse wherof, it hath pleased the Kyngs Majeste to direct his mooste honorable letters unto me; the contents wherof I am sure be nat unknown unto you. And insuing the purporte therof, and afore the delyvere of the same thre days by past, notwithstandyng my greate necessite and poverte, onely to be out of his exclamation and inquietnes, I have written to my trusty friende, Mr. Cromwel, to make certeyn reasonable offres unto hym for that intent and purpose; moost hartely beseching you to helpe, that upon declaration of such things, as upon my part shal be signified unto you by the said Maister Cromwell, some such end, by your friendely dexterite, may bee made betwixt us, as shal accorde with good congruence, and as I may supporte, and be hable, (myne other debts and charges considered) to bere. In the doyng wherof, ye shal bynde me to be your dayly bedesman, as knoweth God, who alwayes preserve you. From Sothewell, the xxvth day of August.

Yours with hert and prayer,
T. Car^{lis}. Ebor.

Number XXXV. 94

Thomas Cardinalis Eboracen. &c. Gypsuichianæ scholæ Præceptoribus. S. D.

NEMINEM latere putamus, quanto animi conatu, studio, industria, huc semper labores nostros destinaverimus, non ut nostris privatim commodis, sed uti patriæ, civibusque nostris omnibus, quam plurimum consuleremus. Qua una in re, amplissimum pietatis fructum nos assecuturos esse arbitramur, si divino aliquo munere popularium nostrorum animos exornaremus. Proinde, maximo, incredibilique pie-

tatis ardore erga patriam affecti, quæ nos veluti jure quodam sibi vendicat, ludum literarium non omnino inelegantem velut amoris summi erga eandem nostri, clarissimum testimonium dedicavimus. Verum quoniam parum visum est ludum quamtumvis magnificum extruxisse, nisi etiam accesserit præceptorum peritia, modis omnibus dedimus operam, ut nos duos Præceptores electos, probatosque huic præficeremus: sub quibus Britannica pubes, statim a primis annis et mores et literas imbiberet; nimirum intelligentes in hac ætate, velut herba, spem reip. positam esse. Id quod felicius maturiusque consequeretur, libello puerilis instructionis methodumque ac rationem docendi, apprimè huic pubi necessariam, omni nostra cura, studio, diligentia, ut haberetis, curavimus. Vestræ partes erunt nunc vicissim, qui huic novæ scholæ nostræ Præceptores estis, hic rudimentis ac docendi ratione diligenter exercere hos pueros; deinceps cum elegantissima literatura, tum optimis moribus ad majora profecturos. Ad quod si pari cura enitimini, atque nos ad oculum vobis commonstraturi sumus, nos non tam vobis vestro studio impense faventes jam demerebimini, quam plane apud posteros felices reddideritis. Bene valete. Ex ædibus nostris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo octavo, calend. Septembris.

Quo ordine pueri, in nostrum gymnasium admissi, docendi sint; quique authores iisdem prælegendi.

Primæ classis methodus.

Principio, scholam hanc nostram in classes octo partiendam esse non incongruè placuit. Quarum prima pueros rudiores in octo orationis partibus diligenter exercendos contineat. Quorum os tenerum formare præcipua cura vobis sit: ut pote qui et apertissima et elegantissima vocis pronunciatione, tradita elementa proferant siquidem rudem materiam licet ad quodvis effingere; et Horatio monente, *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu.* Quamobrem hanc ætatem justa vestra cura defraudare minime par est.

Secundæ classis. 95

Deindè, postquam ætas hæc satis feliciter illis primis rudimentis adulta profecerit, eam in secundum ordinem vocari velimus, ad usum loquendi Latinè, et ad vertendum in Latinum aliquod propositum vulgare, non insulsum neque ineptum; sed quod argutam aliquam aut venustam habeat sententiam, quæ ab ingenio puerili non nimium abhorreat. Quod simul ac versum fuerit, quam mox characteribus Romanis mandari oportebit: dabitisque operam quotidie, ut libellos quam emendatissimos, quamque elegantissimè sua quisque manu scriptos habeat universus grex.

Si authorem aliquem præter rudimenta, adhibendum tenellæ pubi censueritis, id erit vel Lilii carmen monitorium; vel præcepta Catonis; nimirum formandi oris gratia.

Tertiæ classis.

Ex authoribus, qui ad quotidianum sermonem purum, tersum, elimatum magnoperè conducunt, quis facetior, quam Æsopus? aut quam Ter. utilior. Uterque vel ipso argumenti genere adolescentiæ non injucundus.

Rursum, huic ordini de nominum generibus libellum quem Lillius conscripserat, si adjunxeritis, non improbaverimus.

Quartæ classis.

Præterea, cum quartæ classis militiam exercebitis, quem ducem malitis, quam ipsum Vergilium, omnium poetarum principem, vobis dari? Cujus majestatem carminis, voce bene sonora, efferendam esse operæ pretium fuerit.

Verborum præterita et supina huic ordini convenientia commodabit Lillius. Verum ut hujusmodi fateor necessaria, ita velimus tamen tradi, quoad fieri possit, ut potiorem diei partem non occupent.

Quintæ classis.

Nunc demum video vos cupere, quam docendi rationem hic præcipiamus. Agite, mos geratur vobis. In primis hoc unum admonendum censuerimus, ut neque plagis severioribus, neque vultuosis minis, aut ulla tyrannidis specie, tenera pubes afficiatur. Hac enim injuria ingenii alacritas aut extingui, aut magna ex parte obtundi solet.

Huic ordini, quod doceatur, præcipuum erit, ut aliquot selectas Ciceronis Epistolas prælegatis: quibus sane nullæ aliæ videntur nobis ad divitem sermonis copiam parandam, neque faciliores, neque uberiores.

96 Sextæ classis.

Porro, sextus ordo historiam aliquam, vel Salustii, aut Commentariorum Cæsaris, postulare videtur. Quibus Syntaxim Lillii non incongruè addiderimus, verba defectiva, anomala, et quæcunque heteroclyta, obiter legentes, admonebitis.

Septimæ classis.

Septimi ordinis grex, aut Horatii Epistolas, aut Ovidii Metamorphosin, aut Fastorum libros assiduè volvat; interim vel carmen, vel epistolam aliquam componens. Illud quoque permagni referet, si aliquoties aut carmen solverint, aut solutam orationem pedibus alligatam reddiderint. Audita nè effluant, aut apud vos, aut cum aliis puer retractet. Sub somnum exquisiti quippiam, aut dignum memoria meditetur, quod proxima aurora præceptori reddat.

Interdum laxandus est animus, intermiscendus lusus, at liberalis tamen, et literis dignus. In ipsis studiis sic voluptas est intermiscenda, ut puer ludum potius discendi, quam laborem existimat. Cavendum erit, ne immodica contentione ingenia discentium obruantur, aut lectione prælonga defatigentur. Utrâque enim juxta offenditur.

Octavæ classis.

Denique hoc exercitio ad aliquam sermonis peritiam provectus grex, ad majora grammatices præcepta revocetur; velut ad figuras a Donato præscriptas, ad Vallæ elegantiam, et ad linguæ Latinæ quoslibet veteres authores. In quibus prælegendis vos admonitos velimus, ut ea duntaxat quæ explicanda præsenti loco sint idonea, conemini discere. Veluti comœdiam Terentianam enarraturi, imprimis authoris fortunam, ingenium, sermonis elegantiam, paucis disseratis. Deinde, quantum habeat et voluptatis et utilitatis comœdiarum lectio. Deinde, quid significet ea vox, et unde ducta, deinde, dilucidè et breviter summam argumenti explicetis, carminis genus diligenter indicetis. Postea, ordinetis simplicius: deinde, siqua insignis elegan-

tia, siquid priscè dictum, siquid novatum, siquid Græcanicum, siquid obscurius, siqua etymologia, siqua derivatio et compositio, siquis ordo durior, et perturbatior, siqua orthographia, siqua figura, siquid egregium orationis decus, siqua exornatio rhetorica, siquid proverbium, siquid imitandum, siquid non imitandum, diligenter gregem admoneatis.

Præterea, in ludo dabitis operam, ut grex quam emendatissimè loquatur, loquentem aliquoties collaudetis, siquid dictum erit aptius, aut emendetis, cum errabit. Interdum epistolæ brevis argumentum, sed argutum, lingua vulgari proponi debet. Postremò, si libet, ostendatis formulas aliquot, quibus traditum thema commodè tractari poterit.

His rudimentis pueri in schola nostra imbuti, facile declarabunt quantopere referat, ab optimis auspicatum fuisse. Vos modo pergite, ac patriam benè merentem honestissimis studiis illustrate.

Number XXXVI.

97

Queen Elizabeth to Sir Ambrose Cave; to inquire into an estate taken away from one Heydon by Cardinal Wolsey. The letter dated June 22. 1568.

ELIZABETH R.

RIGHTE trustie and welbeloved, we grete you wel. And wheras we are crediblie enfourmed, that one William Heydon, late of Britwel in our countie of Hertford deceased, was in his life tyme seised in his demeane, as of fee, according to the custome of the mannor of the More, being percel of our duchie of Lancaster, in our saied countie, of and in one messuage, with thappurtenances, called Tolpotts, and of and in one hundred, threscore and ten acres of land by estimation, to the same messuage belonging, lieing and being in the parishes of Watford and Rickemansworth, in the said countie of Hertf. And that he so being seised thereof, Thomas Wolsey, late Archebisshop of York, and Cardinal there, being Lord of the said mannor of the More, did wrongfullie expel and put out the same William Heydon of and from the said mesuage, lands and tene-

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ments, and every part therof. And that cxxix acres, percel therof, the said late Cardinal did cause to be inclosed and impaled within the great park of the said mannor. And that a certain plot of ground, conteyning by estimation three acres percel of the said lands and tenements, was by the said late Cardinal converted into a high way, leading from Rickmansworth to Watford aforesaid, in the said countie; and so is used at this present. And that the said mesuage, and eight acres of land, percel also of the premisses, lying without the pale of the said park, are in our hands, or are occupied by such person, as payeth us rent for the same.

And wheras also we are further crediblie enfourmed, that the said William Heydon, after he was expelled and put out of the said mesuage and premisses, as is aforesaid, did surrender the same mesuage, and al the aforesaid lands, with thappurtenances, into the hands of the Lord of the said mannor, to the use of Thomas Heydon, his younger son, and of his heires and assignes for ever, according to the custome of the said mannor: and that Johane wif of George Pope, and Margaret wif of John More, are daughters and heires of the said Thomas Heydon: and that also neither the said William Heydon, nor Thomas Heydon, nor the heires or assignes of eyther of them, have had any manner of recompence in and for the premisses, as we are also crediblie enfourmed.

Wee therefore mynding, if the premisses soe enfourmed us (as is aforesaid) be true, that recompence shal be made to the heires of the said Thomas Heidon, as reason is. And the rather by and at the humble and continual sute, complaint, and lamentable petition of the said John More and Margaret his wif, and of George Pope, and Johane his wif, daughters and heires of the said Thomas Heidon, to whom a surrender of the premisses, as is aforesaid, was by the
98 said William Heidon made; do hereby wil, auctorise and require you, our said Chauncellor of our said duchie, together with the advise of our Councel of the same our duchie, with al convenient speed, thoroughlie to enquire, examine,

and circumspectlie trie out, whether the premisses and allegations soe infourmed us, as is aforesaid, be true or not. And if therupon you shal perceyve and understand, that the same are true, and that the said John More and Margaret his wif, George Pope and Johane his wif, ought of right to have and enjoy the premisses; then we further wil, require, and by these presents do aucthorise you furthewith, with convenient speed, to make unto them the saied John More and Margaret his wif, and George Pope and Johane his wif, restitution of the said lands and premisses, or such other reasonable recompence for the same, as you, upon due and deliberate consideration of the premisses, and the circumstances of the same, shal think most mete and convenient. And therupon to make unto them sufficient assurance of the same recompence to pass under the seale of our said duchie accordinglie: or by any other sufficient means, as you shal think mete. And theis our letters signed with our hand shal be unto you and every of you a sufficient warrant and discharge against us, our heirs and successors at al times hereafter concerning the premisses in every behaulf.

To our righte trustie and welbeloved Sir Ambrose Cave, Kt. one of our Privy Counsel, and Chancellor of our Duchy of Lancaster, and to our Counsel of the same Duchie.

Number XXXVII.

The bedes on the Sunday, as anciently used.

Out of the Festival.

YE shal knele downe on your knees, and lyfte up your hertes, makyng your prayers unto Almyghty God; for the good estate and peace of all holy chyrche, that God mayntayne, save and kepe it. For our holy father the Pope, with al his true college of Cardynalls: that God for his mercy them mayntayne and kepe in the ryght byleve, and it holde and encrease, and al mysbyleve and heresye he lesse and destroye. Also, ye shal praye for the holy lande,

and for the holy crosse that Jesu Chryst dyed upon, for the redempcyon of mannes soule; that it may comme into the power of chrysten men, the more to be honoured for our prayers. Also, ye shal praye for al Archbysshops and Bysshops, and in especial for the Archbysshop of Caunterbury, our Metropolytane: and for the Bysshop of N. our Diocesan: that God of his mercy gyve to them grace, so to governe and rule holy Chyrche, that it may be unto the honour and worshyp of hym, and salvacyon of our soules. Also, ye shal pray for all Abbottes, Pryours, Monkes, Chanons, Fryers, and for al men and women of relygyon, in what ordre, estate, or degree that they stand in, from the hyghest estate unto the lowest degree. Also, ye shal pray
99 for al them that have charge and cure of chrysten mennes soules, as Curates and Parsones, Vycares, Preests and Clerkes. And in especyal, for the Parsone and Curate of this Chyrche; and for al the Preests and Mynystres, that serve therin, or have served therin. And for al them that have taken ony ordre. That Almyghty God gyve them grace of contynuance wel for to kepe and observe it, to the honour and helth of theyr soules. Also, ye shal praye for the unyte and peace of al chrysten realmes, and in especyal for the good state, peace and tranquyllitie of this realme of Englande, for our lyege Lord the Kynge. That God for his great mercy send hym grace so to governe and to rule this realme, that God be pleased and worshypped, and to the profyte and salvacyon of this lande. Also, ye shal pray for our Lyege Lady the Quene, my Lord the Prynce, and al the noble progeny of them. For al dukes, erles, barons, knyghtes, and squyers, and other Lords of the Kynges Counseyle, which have ony rule and governaunce of this land. That God gyve them grace so to counseyle, rule and governe, that God be pleased, the land defended, and to the profyte and salvacyon of al the realme. Also, ye shal praye for the peace, both on lande and on water, that God graunte love and charyte among al chrysten people. Also, ye shal pray for al our parysshens, where that they be on land or on water; that God save them from al maner

of perylles: and for al the good men of this parysshe; for theyr wyves, chyldren, and meyny, that God them mayntayne saufe, and kepe. Also, ye shal pray for al true tythers, that God multyply theyr goods and encrease. For al true tyllers, that labour for our sustenaunce, that tyll the erth. Also, ye shal pray for al the graynes and fruytes that ben sown, set or done on the erthe, or shal be done, that God sende such wederynge, that they may grow, encrease and multyply to the help and profyte of al mankynd. Also, ye shal pray for al true shypmen and merchaunts, whersoever that they be, on land or on water, that God kepe them from al perylles, and bryng them home in saufte with theyr goods, shyppes and merchaundyses, to the helpe, comforte and profyte of this realme. Also, ye shal praye for them that fynde ony lyght in this chyrche, or gyve ony behestes, book, bel, chalyce or vestement, surplys, awter cloth, or towayle, lands, rentes, lamp or lyght, or ony other aournementes, wherby Goddes servyce is the better served, susteyned and mayntayned in redynge and syngynge. And for al them that therto have counseyled: that God reward and yelde it them at theyr moost nede. Also, ye shal pray for al true pylgryms and palmers, that have taken theyr way to Rome, to Iherusalem, to Saynt Katharynes, or Saynt James, or to ony other place. That God of his grace gyve them tyme and space wel for to goe and to come, to the profyte of they lyves and soules. Also, ye shal also pray for al them, that ben syck or deseased of this parysshe, that God send them healthe, the rather for our prayer. For al the women which be in our ladyes bandes, and with chyld in this parysshe, or in ony other, that God sende them fayre delyveraunce, to theyr chyldrens right shape, name, and chrystendome, and to the mothers purification. And for al them that wolde be here, and may not for sycknes, or travayle, or ony other leeful occupacyon: that they may have part of al the good dedes, that shal be done here in this place, or in ony other place. Also, ye shal pray for al them that be in good lyfe, that God holde them long tharin. And for al them that be in dette, or

100 deedly synne; that God bryng them out therof, the rather for our prayers. Also, ye shal pray for hym or her, that this day gave the holy breed, and for hym that first began and longest holdeth on; that God reward hym it at the daye of dome. And for al them that do wel, or say you good, that God yelde it them at theyr nede; and for them that otherwyse wolde, that God amende them.

For al these, and for al chrysten men and women, ye shal say a *Pater noster* and an *Ave Maria. Deus misereatur nostri. Gloria Patri. Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster, et Nè nos. Sed liberá. Versus. Ostende nobis. Sacerdotes. Domine salvum fac regem. Salvum fac populum. Domine fiat pax. Domine exaudi. Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. Ecclesie tue quesumus. Deus in cujus manu. Deus, qui sanctorum*, &c.

Ferthermore, ye shal pray for al chrysten soules: for archbysshops and bysshops soules; and in specyal, for al that have ben bysshops of this diocese: and for al Curates, Parsones and Vicares soules; and in specyal, for them that have ben Curates of this chyrche, and for the soules that have served in this chyrche. Also, ye shal pray for the soules of al chrysten kynges and quenes, and in especyal for the soules of them that have ben kynges of this realme of England. Also, for al those soules, that to this chyrche have gyven boke, bel, chalyce, or vestement, or ony other thyng, by the which the servyce of God is the better done, and holy chyrch worshypped. Ye shal also praye for your fathers soule, for your mothers soule, for your godfathers soule, and for your godmothers soule, for your brethrene and systers soules, and for the soules of al your kynnes folk, and for your frends soules, and for al the souls that we be bound to pray for. And for al the soules that be in the paines of purgatory, there abydynge the mercy of Almyghty God. And in especyal, for them that have moost nede and leest help: that God of his endles mercy less and mynysshe theyr paynes by the meane of our prayers, and bryng them to his everlastyng blysse of heven. And also of the soule of N. or of them that upon

such a day this weke we shal have the annyversary, and for al chrysten soules, ye shal devoutly say a *Pater noster*, and an *Ave Maria, Psalmus, De profundis*, with the Collecte. *Oratio.*

Absolve quesumus, Domine, animas famulorum tuorum, pontificum, regum, sacerdotum, parentum, parrochianorum, amicorum, benefactorum nostrorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum. Ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati respirent. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Number XXXVIII. 101

A book against the King's matrimony with Queen Katherine.

An liceat cuiquam ducere uxorem fratris sui vita defuncti absque liberis.

MSS. D. (H. Eq. VIDETUR omnino quod nullo pacto sit licitum. Nam scribitur in Levitico, capite decimo octavo, unum præceptum generale istud, scil. *Omnis homo ad proximam sanguinis sui non accedet, ut revelet turpitudinem ejus.* Et mox subjungit præcepta quædam specialia. Ubi inter cætera vetat, ne quispiam uxorem fratris sui accipiat. Et illico subinfert Deus; *Turpitudinem uxoris fratris tui non revelabis, quia turpitudo fratris tui est.* Ponitur etiam in eodem capite, *Nec accedes ad uxorem ejus, qui tibi affinitate conjungitur.* Et Levitici vicesimo capite dicitur apertè, *Qui duxerit uxorem fratris sui, rem facit illicitam: turpitudinem fratris sui revelavit: absque filiis erit.*

I. Modò, ex his authoritatibus ita deducam argumentationes. Et primo, hoc medio; Quod est jure divino prohibitum, nulli est licitum. Sed ducere uxorem fratris prohibitum est jure divino. Consequitur ergo, Nemini licere uxorem fratris ducere.

Evidet hæc consecutio cum majore: et minor liquet ex authoritatibus Levitici prælibatis. Sed dicet fortasse quispiam. Præceptum istud modò vigorem non habere in lege evangelica, sed duntaxat pro lege Mosaica dabatur. Sed hæc responsio facile diluetur tali ratione. Præcepta moralia quæ sunt de lege naturæ, inde remanent in lege evangelica secundum omnes Theologos: sed quod homo non accedat ad uxorem fratris sui est morale, quod est de jure naturæ: ergo in lege evangelica adhuc remanet. Minor patebit ex Summa Altissiodorensis in 4to. Sententiarum, titulo De Affinitate; et beati Bonaventuræ in 4to. dist. quadragesima. q. 2a. Et idem Doctor expressè in 4to. dist. 32a. articulo 3o. q. prima, asserit, hoc præceptum esse morale; nempe, quod mulier non cognoscatur tempore menstruæ. Et hoc idem præceptum continetur inter has prohibitiones. Ergo, et cæteræ prohibitiones Leviticæ, in ipso capite contentæ, videntur etiam esse morales. Quod si hos Doctores funditus recusaverunt, adhuc idem probabo ex sacris literis, videlicet, quod hoc est de jure naturæ, quod homo non accedat ad uxorem fratris sui. Nam in eodem capite 18o. Levitic. dicitur, *Nec polluamini in omnibus his, quibus contaminatæ sunt universæ gentes, quas ego ejiciam ante conspectum vestrum.* Et paulo post subjungitur, *Omnes etiam execrationes istas fecerunt accolæ, qui fuerunt ante vos, et polluerunt eam. Cavete ergo, ne et vos similiter evomat, quum paria feceritis, sicut evomuit gentem, quæ fuit ante vos. Omnis anima, quæ fecerit de abhominationibus his quippiam, peribit de medio populi sui.*

Tunc sic formabo rationem. Si gentes fecerunt has abhominationes, et execrationes, et ita punitæ fuere; ergo graviter peccarunt. Quia nunquam infligitur gravis pœna, nisi ob peccatum prius commissum. Quum ergo propter
102 has abhominationes punitæ fuerunt gentes; ergo eas transgrediendo gravissimè peccabant. Si gentes non peccabant nisi contra legem naturæ (quia legi Mosaicæ non erant subjectæ, ut asserit Paulus ad Romanos, 2o.) ergo hæ prohibitiones sunt de lege naturæ. Quod erat probandum. Sed supra jus naturæ non potest Papa dispensare, ut vult Scotus in 4to. Ergo quum hæ prohibitiones sunt de jure naturæ, Papa inconsultè egit dispensando cum tali matrimonio.

II. Præterea, Ubicunque est eadem causa, ibi erit idem effectus. Sed non ob aliud vetatur commixtio cum sorore patris aut matris, quam quia sunt una caro. Ut patet Levitici xviii°. Ergo cum frater et ejus uxor sunt una caro, non potest frater uxorem fratris defuncti ducere. Et consimilem rationem videtur ponere beatus Bonaventura ad oppos. q. in 4to. Sentent. dist. 40a. q. 2da. ubi quærit, an consanguinitas matrimonio præstat impedimentum. Et minor etiam claret ex authoritate Pauli priori ad Corinthios 7°. *Qui adhæret meretrici unum corpus efficitur cum ea.*

III. Præterea, Ubicunque est materia ambigua et dubia, semper tutior pars est servanda et eligenda. Sed hæc materia est gravis, et dubia: videlicet, quod serenissima Regia Majestas non debet dirimi a Regina; et quod Papa Julius licitè dispensavit. Nam aliqui Doctores, et aliquæ Universitates famatæ asseruerunt oppositum: scil. quod debet serenissima sua Majestas ab ipsa separari, et hoc sub pœna peccati mortalis. Ergo licitè potest hanc partem, tanquam tutiorem, eligere. Alioqui exponeret se periculo peccati mortalis, peccat mortaliter secundum omnes Theologos; et apparet ex sacra Scriptura. Nam qui amat periculum, peribit in illo.

IV. Item, Supponamus quod Papa Julius potuerit dispensare, ut Regia Majestas duceret uxorem relictam fratris sui, et quod fuerit verum matrimonium inter ipsum et illam; adhuc probabo tale matrimonium justè posse dissolvi: et hoc a Deo licet, non ab homine. Quia *quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet*, juxta sententiam evangelicam. Papa verò solum declarabit, quod Deus illud dissolverit. Et tali argumentabor ratione. Matrimonium inter aliquas personas dissolvitur a Deo propter majus bonum. Sed tuitio unius regni est majus bonum, quam hoc aut illud matrimonium. Ergo propter tuitionem regni Angliæ Deus dissolvit matrimonium inter Regem et Reginam. Evidet hæc sequela: et probabitur major. Nam matrimonio contracto, et non consummato inter Joannem et Magdalenam, licitum est Joanni ingredi religionem propter continentiam servandam: quæ secundum Theologos est majus bonum, quam matrimonium. Et illud matrimonium dissolvit Deus, et non homo, ut dictum est prius. Quia *quod*

Deus conjunxit, nemo separet. Probabitur etiam illa minor, videlicet, quod tuitio unius regni sit majus bonum, quam hoc aut illud matrimonium: et tali pacto. Quicquid est majus majori est majus minori. Sed tuitio unius regni est majus bonum, quam continentia istius aut illius personæ; quæ tamen continentia est majus bonum, quam matrimonium, ut jam probavimus, et patet ex Paulo, prioris ad Cor. septimo. Ergo tuitio unius regni est majus bonum, quam hoc aut illud matrimonium. Ergo propter tuitionem regni Angliæ dissolvit Deus matrimonium istud. Quod etiam tuitio unius regni sit majus bonum quam continentia istius aut illius personæ, patet; non solum quia bonum commune est præferendum bono particulari, verum etiam, quia Papa dispensa-
103 vit cum quodam Monacho, ut exiret religione, et esset Rex Arragoniæ. Item, diebus nostris Alexander Sextus (ut a fide dignis accepi) pro bono publico regni Gallorum, declaravit, quod Rex Lodovicus XII. poterat separari ab uxore sua, et ducere in uxorem Annam Ducissam Minoris Britanniæ. Cur igitur idem non licebit fieri modò cum serenissimo nostro Rege propter bonum publicum regni Angliæ? Quod enim sequatur bonum publicum Angliæ ex isto divortio ostenditur: quia Regina nostra, teste experientia, non parit plures filios. Ex novo autem matrimonio facile poterit Rex sobolem procreare masculinam, heredem. Et ita sedabuntur tumultus innumeri. Nam si (quod absit) decesserit serenissima regia Majestas sine filio, haud dubie in Anglia tantum ignis (prout conjicio) erit accensus, ut eum oceani aqua vix extinguere posset; tanta erit lis in populo.

Huic etiam positioni occurrit illud quod Gregorius Augustino Anglorum Apostolo (a quo requisitus fuerat, Quota generatione debeant copulari) rescribit sic: *Quædam lex Romana permittit, ut sive fratris et sororis, sive duorum fratrum germanorum, seu duarum sororum filius et filia misceantur. Sed experimento didicimus ex tali conjugio sobolem non posse succrescere. Unde necesse est, ut quarta aut quinta generatio fidelium licenter conjugatur.* Sed post multum temporis idem Gregorius a Felice Messinæ scil. Præsule requisitus, utrum Augustino scripserit, ut Anglorum quarta generatione contracta matrimonia non solventur, inter cætera talem reddidit rationem: *Quod scripsi Augustino Anglorum Episcopo, ipsi etiam Anglorum genti, quæ nuper ad fidem venerat, ne a bono quo cœperat, metuendo austeriora, recederet, specialiter et non generaliter, me cognoscas scripsisse. Nec ideo hæc eis scripsi, ut postquam in fide fuerint solidati, si infra propriam consanguinitatem inventi fuerint, non separentur, aut inter affinitatis lineam id est usque ad septimam generationem, jungantur. Nec valet dicere evadendo, quod lex Deuteronomica, capite - - - - -, de suscitatione seminis fratris evacuavit hanc legem Leviticam.* Quod ostendam tali pacto. Lex temporaliter data, et ad determinatum populum, non potest restringere legem universalem et moralem, datam universæ nationi; sed lex Deuteronomica erat solum temporalis, et ad certum populum limitata. Levitica vero lex moralis est et universalis, ut prius ostensum est: quia lex naturæ extendit se ad omnes. Ergo per consequens, lex Deuteronomica non habet vigorem restringendi legem Leviticam. Quare consequitur has prohibitiones Leviticas adhuc consistere in pleno robore.

Major hujus rationis clarebit per simile. Nam Exodi xx. datur præceptum universale, Non occides. Et primo Regum xv. præcepit Deus Sauli, ut interficeret Amalech. Nunc iste casus specialis et particularis non potest restringere primum præceptum morale de non occidendo, ut manifestum est. Ergo per simile nec lex Deuteronomica evacuabit legem Leviticam, quæ est moralis, et omni populo communis.

Item, genus prohibitum cum distributione includit omnes species sub eo contentas, esse prohibitas. Sed hoc genus, scil. omnis homo ad proximam sanguinis sui non accedat, est prohibitum cuilibet homini. Ergo etiam omnes ejus speciei cuilibet homini prohibentur. Sed sub hoc genere continentur duodecim species in Levitico, ca. 18°. Ergo quælibet earum prohibetur cuilibet homini. V.

Item divinus Augustinus contra Faustum, libro duodecimo, capite 81°. de Juda et Thamar sic loquitur: *Si vir et uxor, sicut dicit Dominus, non jam duo, sed una caro sunt, non aliter nurus deputanda est, quam filia.* Nunc ex his 104 VI.

dictis ita argumentor, de similibus simile est judicium. Sed nurus ex hoc quod solum cognita est a filio cedit in jus filiæ. Ergo et uxor fratris cognita a fratre cedit in jus sororis.

VII. Item, Dominus Antoninus in 3^{a}. parte Summæ, capitulo undecimo, De Affinitate, ubi loquitur de dispensatione Papæ prohibita, dicit, Quod in *linea transversali, in primo gradu prohibetur matrimonium consanguinitatis et affinitatis jure divino. Unde* (inquit) *nec Papa dispensare potest, quia est contra naturam, ut scil. quis contrahat cum germana sua, aut uxore germani sui, eo mortuo. Unde etiam ante legem Mosaicam, multiplicato genere humano, ante diluvium aut post, creditur se abstinuisse a sororibus, et ab uxoribus fratrum, nisi ad suscitandum semen fratris præmortui, sicut et tempore legis, ut patet in Thamar et filiis inde.* Et paulo post subjungit Anthoninus, *Nec etiam posset dispensare Papa in uxore fratris mortui sine liberis. Quia licet olim liceret, dispensativè licebat. Quæ dispensatio fiebat jure divino, non ab homine. Nam jure divino communiter abstinebatur ab uxore fratris, sicut a propria sorore: sed in casu illo permittebatur. Unde sicut Papa non potest dispensare in pluralitate uxorum, quamvis olim esset licita (quia licita erat ex Dei dispensatione) prohibita jure communi, sic nec in proposita.* Hæc Anthoninus.

Sunt etiam nonnulli authores asseverantes matrimonium inter affines esse prohibitum jure divino et naturæ: ut Jo. De Turre Cremata, et Petrus De Paludo, et alii Thomistæ.

Hæc scripta et collecta fuere A^{o} regni Regis Hen. VIII. 21^{o}. 18^{o} die Aprilis, per J. p^{i}. M.

Number XXXIX.

A confutation of Abel's book, wrote against the divorce of Q. Katherine.

Contra basim libelli Abelis.

ISS. D. G. I. Eq. HÆC unica est basis ac fundamentum singulare, cui totus innititur Abelis libellus. Quod Deus nunquam id quod malum est, et contra jus naturæ præcipit observandum, et hoc perpetuo et a communitate. Ex hoc fundamento colligit, non esse contra jus naturæ ducere relictam fratris, quum Deus illud antiquitus præcepisset.

Et si aliàs pluribus machinis, eisque satis validis, hanc munitionem expugnavimus; non gravabimur tamen jam denuo novas vires adjicere: ut quantumvis inverecundus ac vafer sit hostis, multitudine saltem testium attonitus cristas cogatur dimittere.

Primum quidem pro enervatione hujus fundamenti dicimus, hoc Deuteronomicum præceptum nec universale fuisse, nec perpetuum. *Universale* non erat, quum nullam gentem 105 præter Judaicam obligabat. Sed neque *perpetuum* erat: quum coruscante Evangelio sit abolitum. Proinde invalidum prorsus ac debile fundamentum est, ad sustinendum Abelis structuram.

Deinde, ad perpetuam hujus basis demolitionem, præmittam conclusionem unicam, præsidiis undique tutissimis munitam:

Quod Deus præcipit illud nonnunquam, quod, antequam præcipiebatur, erat contra jus naturæ.

Istam conclusionem firmabo primo authoritate divi martyris Cypriani; qui in Epistola 62ª ita scribit: *Aliud est quod Deus imperat facere, et aliud voluntati ejus obsistere: cujus ita sunt mandata servanda, ut si aliquid jusserit, quod secundum homines injustum esse videatur, justum credatur, et fiat. Et si justum jusserit, justum deputetur, et fiat. Cum sine victoria non potest esse, quod mandat; qui potens est injustitiam justificando, vocare justitiam: et justitiam reprobando, injustitiam probare transversam. Cujus voluntas est vera et sola justitia.* Hæc Cyprianus. Ex quo liquido apparet, Deum posse ob aliquam causam justificare præceptum Deuteronomicum de suscitando semine fratri, etiam si, ante illud præceptum, esset contra jus naturæ.

Huic subscribit divus Augustinus in libro 26º. contra Ca. 3º. Faustum. Ibidem enim affirmat, *Naturam ita obtemperantem esse suo authori, ut id solum naturale dicatur, quod ipse velit fieri.* Sic autem habet: *Contra naturam aliquid fieri dicitur, quum contra communem cursum, et consuetu-*

Ad Rom. 11°. *dinem aliquid fiat.* Unde Apostolus; *Si tu ex naturali incisus oleastro, et contra naturam insertus es in bonam olivam,* &c. Id dixit contra naturam quod est contra naturæ legem.

Minorem sic probo. Laudavit Deus factum Joe regis Judæ, quod accepit duas uxores: sed accipiens duas uxores, transilivit limites naturæ. Igitur, &c. Major ostenditur
2°.Para.24°. authoritate sacræ scripturæ. *Accepit Joiada sacerdos duas uxores Joe regi.* Et ob hoc et alia ejus facta, dictum est
4°.Reg.12°. in laudem ejus, quod *rex Joas rectum fecerat coram Domino cunctis diebus, quibus docuerat eum Joiada sacerdos.* Cum igitur Joiada docuit Joam accipere duas uxores, in hoc rectum fecit coram Domino.

Ex iis jam licebit cernere, quam infirmum sit hoc fundamentum, et quam levi manu convelli, ac amoveri possit, super quod Abel tanquam super petram solidissimam totum collocat ædificium. Verum hoc jam sublato fundamento, ut tota scil. corruat structura superimposita, necessum est.

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Number XL.

Dr. Croke to the King, concerning his agency in Italy.

Foxii MSS. PLEASE yt your Highnes to be advertysed, that syns the XXVIII day of Auguste, I delyvered unto friar Thomas xxiii crouynes. Syns the whyche tyme he hathe got your Highnes but vii subscriptions: the whyche I sent by Harwel the XIX of Octobre. And of them, two only excepte, there ys not on worthy thank. I have and do often call upon hym; but he answerethe me, that there ys no mo Doctors to be goten. The contrary wherof I knowye to be trew. And whan I demande off hym, for the declaration off my accompte, some remembrance of his hande for XLVII crouynes, whyche I have paide hym, he answerythe, that, at the ende of the cause, he wyl other make me a byll, or delyver me thold money ayene. And hys cause, why he wol make me no byl, ys, as he saithe, feare leste hys byl myght be shewed to your Highnes adversaryes. Off the whyche pretendyd feare, I so moche the more doubte, by-

cause I have taken hym twysse styffelye reasonyng upon the Queenys part ayenste your Highnes conclusion with a friar of Florence, whom afore thys day he alwayes assuryd me to be of your Highnes opinion. Albeyt now he saithe, the said friar ys departyd beynge utter ennymye to the same. And in communication, Soverayne Lorde, with me upon his said reasonynge with the said friar, he said to me, that themperors embassatour shulde say to hym, *Qui velit procurare pro regina non staret intra paucula scuta*, and he addyd these wordes to the same, *Crede mihi, Crocc, posse me efficere, si velim facere, quod alii velint et faciunt, ut quicquid hactenus fecerim pro rege, illi magis obsit quam prosit.*

Thys frute comythe off Raphaelles workes put in printe: makinge protestation in the worke writen ayenste your Highnes, *quod quidquid scripserit pro eadem, id omne tantum ex aliorum mente, non sua, ad ingenii exercitationem scripserit:* and that the worke writen ayenste your Highnes ys hys very trew and playne opinion, and firme and ful sentence and mind. What hurte this worke (with sutche werkes as ar in Englishe set forthe in England by constant rumour here) ayenste your Highnes cause, dothe unto your Highnes said cause, I have at length by doble lettres sent by the meane of Harwel from Venice to Antwarpe, and from Antwarpe to your Highnes by post purposely, acertayned your Highnes.

And consyderinge, that I can get no mo subscriptions, nother off friar Ambrose, nor off Thomas, very fear compellyng us to advertyse your Highnes, that al these friars were firste and only attayned unto your H. by me. And Ambrose had off me, for the getting off the determination of Padua, for his part only, XX crouynes. Thomas hath had XLVII crouynes. Franciscus for hym and Dionysius LXXVII crouynes; as I can right wel prove. And thys notwithstanding, whan I cal upon them for som frute, off none of theyr labour, except Dionysius, I can get none. And as Ambrose hath answered me, that my Lord of London hath commandyd hym, *Tantum in causa regia facere*, 107 *quantum ipsi præscripserit Cassalius.* So Leonicus, a man off greate gravitye and lernynge, by hys lettres (wheroff a copye I sende herein enclosyd) acertaynythe me of a wars poynte. Albeyt I trust yt be not so. For sutche commandemente coulde not but be prejudical, as wel unto your Highnes cause, as unto my labours taken in the same; and also to the losse off the money, that I have layd ougt to the said friars, for the same. Nor I cannot perceve, how (yff thys be true) that I any more may preferr your most high causes in Venice and the parts abougt. Whose importune labour my Lord knowethe to have bene the principal and chefe cause of the success that your Highnes cause hath had in Italye. Wherin afore my commynge, nor yet by other men long after, there was (as your Highnes and al other knowethe) nothinge erthely done.

And I beseche your H. to pondre my good harte and acts passed; the whyche shal never (to dy for yt) cease to farther your said H. pleasure in thys behalffe with al payne, faythe and diligence, as the effecte of my endevour I trust shal alwayes frutefully prove. And thus I beseche our most merciful Saviour Christe long to preserve your most noble Grace. At Venice the XXIII of Octobre, with the rude hand off your moste high Majesties

most humble and lauly servant,
Richarde Croke.

Number XLI.

An address from the Convocation to the King, for an act to take away annates, exacted by the Court of Rome.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 263.

WHERE the Court of Rome hath a long season exacted of such as have been named, or elected, to be Archbps. or Bps. of this realm, the *annates,* that is to say, the first fruites of their bishoprics, before they could obtain their bullys out of the said Court; by reason wherof the thesaurie of this realm hath been had and conveyed to Rome, to no smal decay of this land, and to the great impoverishing of Bps: which if should dy within two or three years after their promotion, should dy in such debts, as should be to the undoing of their friends and creditors: and by the same exaction of *annates*, Bps. have been so extenuate, that they have not been able in a great part of their lives, to repair their churches, houses and manors; which by reason therof have fallen into much decay: and besides, that the Bps. have not been able to bestow the goods of the Church in hospitality and almes, and other deeds of charity, which by the law and by the minds of the doners of their possessions temporal, they were bound to do:

In consideration wherof, forasmuch as it is to be accounted as symony by the Popes own law, to take or give any mony for the collation, or for the consenting to the 108
collation of a bpric., or of any other spiritual promotion: and to say, that the said annates be taken for the vacation, as touching the temporalities, pertaineth of right to the Kings Grace; and as touching the spiritualty to the Archbp. of Canterbury: and it is not to be allowed, if it should be alleged, that the said Court exacteth these annates for parchment and lead, and writing of the bullys. For so should parchment and lead be very dear merchandize at Rome, and in some cases an hundred times more worth, then the weight or counterpoize of fine gold:

In consideration also, that it is no reason, that the first fruites of such temporal lands, as the Kings most noble progenitors, and other noblemen of this realm, have given to the Church of England, upon high respects, causes and conditions, should be applied to the Court of Rome: which continually getteth by this means, and many other, much goods and profits out of this realm, and never departeth with any portion therof hither again. For touching the same temporal lands, the Bps. be subjects only to the Kings Gr. and not to the Court of Rome: neither by reason of those possessions ought to pay these annates as a tribute to the said Court. Wherfor if there were just cause, as there is none, why any sums of mony, besides the competent charges of the writing and sealing, should be demanded for Bps. bulls, the Court of Rome might be contented with the annates of the spiritualties alone without exaction of the first fruites of the temporalties: in which they have none interest, right or superiority.

And further in consideration, that the Bps. be sworn at their consecration, that they shal not alienate the immovable or pretious movable goods of their bishopric; seeing the payment of these annates be an alienation of the first fruites, being precious movables: by the alienation wherof the Bp. should fall into perjury:

And over this, forasmuch as it was ordained, determined and concluded in the 21st session at the General Councel of Basil, that from time ever after, for and in the confirmation of elections for admission of postulations or presentations, in or for provisions, collations, dispositions, elections, postulations, presentations, though it be made by a layman, in or for the institutions, installations, investitures of churches, cathedral, metropolitan, monasteries, dignities, benefices or ecclesiastical offices, whatsoever they be: also in or for Orders, holy benediction, or palls, nothing at al, before or after, should bee exacted in the Court of Rome, by the reason of letters, bulls, seals, annates, common or minute service, first fruits, or deportates, or by whatsoever other title, colour or name they be called, under the pretext of any custome, privilege or statute, or prerogative, or any other cause or occasion directly or indirectly: excepted only to the writers, abbreviators and registers of the letters, minutes, and bulls, therto belonging, a competent salary for their labor: whose salary cannot be extended reasonably to the twentieth part of the annates, which be exacted and continually augmented: contrary to which ordinance, determination and canon, made in the said Councel, if any man exacting, giving or promising, would presume to do, he should fal into some great paines, as in the said Councel be expressed:

109 It may please the Kings most noble Grace, having tender compassion to the wealth of this his realm, which hath been so greatly extenuate and hindred by the payments of the said annates, and by other exactions and slights, by which

the thesaure of this land hath been caried and conveyed beyond the mountaines to the Court of Rome, that the subjects of this realm be brought to great penury, and by necessity be forced to make their most humble complaint for stopeing and restraining the said annates, and other exactions and expilations, taking for indulgences and dispensations, legacies, and delegacies, and other feats, which were too long to remember:

First, to cause the said injust exactions of annates to cease, and to be foredoen for ever, by act of this his Graces high court of Parlament. And in case the Pope wol mak any process against this realm for the attaining those annates, or else wol retain Bps. bulls, til the annates be payd, forasmuch as the exaction of the said annates is against the law of God, and the Popes own lawes, forbiding the buying or selling of spiritual gifts or promotions; and forasmuch as al good Christen men be more bound to obey God, then any man; and forasmuch as St. Paul willeth us to withdraw our selves from al such as walk inordinately; it may pleas the Kings most noble Grace to ordain in this present Parlament, that then the obedience of him and the people be withdrawn from the see of Rome: as in like case the French King withdrew his obedience of him and his subjects from Pope Benedict the XIIIth of that name; and arrested, by authority of his Parlament, al such annates, as it appeareth by good writing ready to be shewed.

Number XLII.

Richardi Sampsonis, Regii Sacelli Decani, oratio: qua docet, hortatur, admonet omnes, potissimùm Anglos, regiæ dignitati cum primis ut obediant; quia verbum Dei præcipit; Episcopo Romano ne sint audientes, qui nullo jure divino in eos quicquam potestatis habet, postquam ita jubet Rex, ut illi non obediant. Qui contra fecerint eos præcipuè docet legem divinam contemnere. Non est ergo quod sibi timeant Angli de humana quavis potestate Episcopi Romani, qui aliam quam humanam, hoc est, humano consensu, in Anglos non habet. Obediant igitur Deo, non homini.

Hæc est veritas verbo Dei firmata.

E Biblioth. Rev. Patris D. Joh. Ep. Elien.

NIHIL est aliud in sacris literis, quod me tantopere ad dilectionem Dei et proximi invitat quam illud Joan. 13. ca. *Mandatum novum* (inquit Christus) *do vobis, ut diligatis* 110 *invicem, sicut dilexi vos, ut et vos diligatis invicem. Novum* (inquit Christus) *mandatum*, &c. Quia prius solo verbo docti estis: nunc autem verbo et exemplo: *quia exemplum vobis dedi, ut sicut dilexi vos*, &c. Ex hoc loco, dilectionis duo genera docentur, Dei scilicet erga hominem, et hominis erga hominem. Neque non ex priore dilectione proficiscatur tertium dilectionis genus necesse est, nempe hominis erga Deum. Causam itaque primæ dilectionis cum audieritis, erit quoque et postremæ dilectionis manifesta vobis causa, neque non esse necessarium tertiam illam dilectionem, hominis erga hominem, facile perspicietis. Si non esset alius locus ullus quam primum illud Genesios caput, satis perspicua est Dei erga hominem dilectio. Postquam enim alia omnia, quæ in cœlo, in terra, in mari, quinque primis diebus creaverit Deus, tum sexto die hominem qui omnibus præesset, fecit. Neque modo fecit ut alia priora, sed ad imaginem suam fecit, deditque omnium rerum dominum, (fecit inquam) *ut præsit*, &c. Hinc ait benedicens, *Crescite*, &c. *Et dominamini piscibus*, &c. Fecit præterea ad imaginem suam, quia sensum et intellectum et animam immortalem dedit. Quod ait ad similitudinem, &c. Innocentiam

Dilectionis tria genera.

Bonitas Dei erga hominem.

præstitit, quoad [quam] peccato amisit, neque tamen è Paradiso abjecto, rerum dominium sustulit. Hinc David bonitatem Dei admirans erga hominem tam ingratum, *Quid est homo* (inquit) *quod memor es ejus*, &c.? *Minuisti eum paulo ab angelis, gloria et honore coronasti. Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus*, &c. Nunquid non maxima sunt hujusmodi beneficia ergo hominem? Sed aliud longè maximum Dei beneficium est, quod priora omnia longissimè vincit. Misit enim Filium suum Deus Pater, cui non pepercit, ut ait Apostolus ad Rom. viii. ut nos filios iræ et damnationis, filios adoptionis efficeret. Misit, inquam, Filium, ut per eum ad Patrem, qui nobis prius irascebatur, facilem accessum haberemus. Factus est enim homo nostra causa. Omnes nostras miserias ut homo sustulit. Passus est. Redemit nos. Patri nos reconciliavit. Lavit, mundavit peccata nostra suo sanguine, pro omnibus mortuus. Per ipsum datur nobis remissio peccatorum. Ipse interpellat pro nobis, pro nobis apud Deum Patrem Mediator est. Nobiscum præsens est semper, quoties eum in veritate invocaverimus, ut opem ferat in tempore. Sed frustra hujus benignissimi Christi erga genus humanum beneficia numerare conarer, cum sint longissimè ineffabilia.

Christi benignitas erga hominem.

Dilectio Dei.

Nos tamen suo monet exemplo, *Sicut ego dilexi vos*, &c. Quis tam ferreus est, ut hunc optimum Deum ex toto corde, &c. amare nolit? Hoc est dilectionis secundum genus; de quo tota scriptura loquitur, et toties admonet, ut Deum diligamus, ut in eo spem omnem nostram constituamus, illi nos totos committamus. Neminem præter ipsum timeamus, si ejus negotium urgeat. *Dominus protector* (inquit) *vitæ meæ, a quo trepidabo?* Psal. xxvi. *Timete eum* (inquit Christus) *qui potest tradere corpus et animam in gehennam ignis.* Mat. v. Neque tamen servilis timor esse debet, sed sanctus, purus, reverendissimus, non aliter quam obsequiosissimus filius amantissimum suum Patrem timet. Patrem amat ex animo. Offendere metuit, quia amat. Et si aliquando deliquerit, a Patre non abhorret, sed eundem humiliter petit, ut veniam impetret. Eodem modo et diligamus nos Deum, et bonus quidem hic Deus, ne simus voluntatis ejus ignari, vitæ regulas tradidit. Docuit nos vias vitæ non hujus tantum, sed potius æternæ.

Diligere Deum est mandata servare.

111 Neque multa sunt præcepta, sed duo tantum; ut Deum ex toto corde diligas, et proximum sicut teipsum, id quod est dilectionis tertium genus. Visne scire quonam pacto Deum diligas? Paucissimis verbis docet Christus. *Si diligitis me* (inquit) *mandata mea servate.* Jo. xiv. Hic labor. Neque prodest omnis labor, nisi diligatis. Hinc orat Propheta, *Dirige gressus meos in semitis tuis, ut non moveantur vestigia mea.* Item, *Gressus meos dirige secundum eloquium tuum.* In hac prece soliciti simus, (cum neutiquam sufficiat nostra imbecillitas, ut Dei mandata servemus,) ut dirigamur in Deum. Sunt tamen multi civiles mores, natura docente, quos præcipit quoque Deus, qui in nostro sunt arbitrio et potestate ut faciamus. Ab illis qui se excusare potest, nullus est. Qui igitur ea præcepta non facit, non servat, *dignissimus est qui vapulet multis:* Luc. xii. Cujus generis sunt proximo non nocere, ejus bona injustè non auferre, furtum non facere, neminem dolo decipere, falso crimine non urgere, id quod cumprimis impium est, &c. præpositis obedire. Hæc etenim, et id genus alia multa, hominis ipsa natura docet. Sed postquam et eadem suo mandato firmaverit Deus, omni conatu ut servemus, elaborandum est. Et nisi quidem servaverimus, erimus planè digni multimodo supplicio.

Obediendum Regi.

Quod autem adjeci inter alia, præpositis obediendum esse, diligentem cautionem habeamus oportet, ut illi obedientiam præstemus, cui debetur. *Cui honorem, honorem,* &c. ad Ro. xiii. *Regem honorificate.* 1 Pet. ii. Et sis cautus oportet, eo ne spreto, cui Dei præcepto obedire teneris, illi obedias, cui nullam obedientiam debes. Hoc enim grave peccatum est. Mandat Deus, ut Regi obedias. Neque modo hoc præcipit, sed præterea nisi feceris damnationem minatur. Ad Ro. xiii. Quicquid ergo mandat Princeps, id facias oportet, quia sic præcipit Deus, modo nihil mandet contra Deum. Neque illi aut verbo, aut facto resistendum est, quia potestatem habet a Deo. Et qui ei resistit, Dei potestati resistit (inquit Apostolus) a quo potestatem accepit. Et qui illi resistit sibi damnationem acquirit, inquit idem. O! magnum præceptum, et ab omnibus observandissimum! Si vero ut serves non admonet Dei amor, æternæ damnationis timore, nisi deploratissimus fueris, servabis plane. Hoc est præceptum, quod ex voluntate tua pendet, ut facias. Potes enim id facere. Et nisi quidem id feceris, non modo præsentaneam vindictam, ex manu Regis meritus es, sed etiam æternam, ex manu Dei. Hinc ait Apostolus, *Ideoque necessitati subditi estote, non modo propter iram*, quia se potest vindicare de te, *sed etiam propter conscientiam*, quia præceptum Dei est. Et qui agit contra conscientiam, ædificat ad gehennam. *Vis ergo non timere Principis iram?* Obediens esto, et malum ne facito. Si enim non obedieris, malum facis. Iram igitur time.

A potestate Regis eximitur nemo.

Ab hac ira; ab hoc jure Principis, inobedientes afficiendi, eximitur prorsus nemo, nullum genus hominum, nisi quos suo donaverit beneficio. Quicunque ergo is est, qui non vult timere gladium, Regi et ejus legibus obediat. Sin autem time, quia potestatem habet a Deo Princeps, *in hoc ipsum*, (ut ait Apostolus,) *quia minister Dei est*, ut inobedientes et malos coerceat. *Est enim constitutus ad vindictam malefactorum et laudem bonorum*, quos tuetur, defendit, honorificat. 1 Pet. ii. Et quemadmodum ad ejus officium pertinet, bonos et probos tueri et defendere, sic inobedientes et immorigeros dignis pœnis afficere. Hanc potestatem habet 112 a Deo. Palam est. Scripturæ manifestæ sunt. Est enim verbum Dei, quo docemur, ut huic potestati obediamus. Neminem prorsus excipit. Neque in sacris literis unum iota reperitur, quod immorigerum et peccantem quempiam a regia potestate eximat.

Non est ergo quod mireris, si delinquentem, aut Sacerdotem, aut Monachum, aut Episcopum, supplicio affectum videris, magis quam Laicum. *Si malum feceris* (inquit Apostolus) *time potestatem* gladii. Hoc enim omnibus, et ad singulos omnes loquitur. *Nam si deliqueritis, quænam gratia* (inquit D. Petrus) *si colaphisati suffertis.* 1 Pet. ii. Conversationem igitur bonam habete (inquit) ne vobis detractare possint homines, tanquam de malefactoribus. *Subditi igitur* *estote*, &c. inquit. Ut simus ergo Regi et ejus potestati, ejus legibus subditi in omnibus, quæ ad hujus sæculi negotia pertinent, mandat Deus ipse.

Supremum Caput Rex.

Cum ergo hanc *supremam* potestatem habeat a Deo, ut jam a verbo Dei accepistis, mirum est reperire tam stultos homines, qui hunc Regem *Supremi Capitis* appellatione ornari, quantum in eis est, non sinunt, et ut non recipiant alii, aut imprudenter, aut impudenter et malevolè contendunt. Nonne supremi capitis nomine dignus est, cui soli in terris data est verbo Dei illa quam diximus suprema potestas? Velim qui se doctos arbitrantur, unam aliam potestatem proferant è sacris literis, quæ possit huic æquari. Hanc ergo potestatem habent Reges ab ipso Deo, *ejus ministri sunt*, ab eo *missi sunt*, (ut ait D. Petrus in priore loco,) *ejusque vicarii sunt*. Omnes ergo huic potestati obediant necesse est, qui volunt esse subditi Deo. Alias quidem Deum vere rejicit, vel spernit potius, qui non recipit eum, et ei non obedit, quem mittit Deus, cui expressam hanc potestatem dedit. Vocetur idcirco *Supremum Caput*, quia verè talis est, verbo divino confirmatus.

Idque ratio docet.

Id quod naturalis quoque ratio, et usus rei apertè docent. Quis nescit totum regnum unum esse politicum corpus, singulos homines ejusdem corporis membra esse? Ubinam est hujus corporis caput? Est ne aliud quam rex? Aliud plane non est. Aliud usquam reperiri non potest. Usus rei hoc te manifestissimè docet. Quid fieri, quid statui, quid decerni potest absque regio consensu? Quid laxari, quid dissolvi, quid remitti, absque eodem potest? Videsne supremi Capitis supremam potestatem? Cur detractas illum suo nomine vocare? Si id per imprudentiam feceris, disce et resipisce. Si malevolè, pœniteat te celeriter, et isto subditus Deo, qui hoc mandat. Sin autem, ut communis pacis perturbator afficiaris, jure pateris, et quidem divino. Mandat jus divinum, ut obedias. Pœnam statuit lex humana, suo jure. Hoc enim Regi statuendum relinquitur. Neque est Rex qui vindicat, sed Deus, cujus minister est, et a quo hanc accipit potestatem. *Meum est enim consilium*, &c. *Per me reges* (inquit Deus) *regnant*, &c. Pro. viii. *Mihi* (inquit Deus) *vindicta, et ego retribuam,* quia minister, vicarius meus, vel in hoc sæculo retribuet meo nomine, vel ego æterna pœna afficiam. Esto cautus, ne utrunque patiaris. Non potest planè non utrunque pati, qui verbum Dei contemnit. Quid aliud est quàm contemnere verbum Dei, non obedire Regi, ministro Dei, vicario Dei?

In Episcopi Romani arrogantem potestatem.

Non Episcopum illum Romanum Vicarium Dei intelligo, qui jure suo non habet quod agat, extra suam provinciam. Episcopus est Romanus: agat Romæ Episcopum. In Anglia plus potestatis non habet, quam habeat Cantuariensis 113 Episcopus Romæ. Nullum planè verbum est in sacris literis, quod illi extra suam Romanam provinciam ministerii quicquam tribuat. Id quod tibi exploratissimum efficiam. Si, quam tantopere ambit jure divino, potestatem habet, verbo Dei manifestum faciat, oportet. Sed de Romano Episcopo magis quam de Cantuariensi, nulla prorsus est in sacris literis mentio. Ex hoc igitur fonte, hanc aquam haurire nequit, ubi nulla prorsus est.

Quod ait se Petri successorem esse, tum ab hac successione hanc potestatem accepisse, si adesset D. Petrus, negaret planè, et in hunc mendacem haud dubiè clamaret, O! impostorem, O! virum ambitiosum, superbum, arrogantem. Docuit me Magister meus Christus humilitatem, abnegationem mei ipsius, hujus seculi, totiusque fastus ejus contemptum, pacem, &c. Sed qui meo nomine primatum sibi vendicat, quam habet nihil humilitatis, docent perspicuè quidem externi mores. Ex fructibus cognoscitur arbor. Pro abnegatione suiipsius, omnia pro voluptate et libidine facere ambit. Pro hujus sæculi contemptu, nihil tam amat quam quæ sunt hujus sæculi. Fastu, pompa, gentium principes vincit. Pro pace bellum ubique serit, non aliam ob causam, quam ut vivat ipse, agatque omnia pro libidine. Hæc, inquam, et longe plura de Romano Episcopo diceret D. Petrus, si adesset. Sed de Romanis corruptissimis moribus et *abominabilibus,* ut ait Psal. xiii. interim taceo. Non enim minori negotio oceani omnem prope aquam exhaurirem, quam illos mores omnes recenserem, et pro dignitate tractarem. Deum precor pro Christiana charitate, ut Deum agnoscere discat, agnitum amet. Ut quæ præcipit Christus, tandem incipiat studiosius Episcopus Romanus imitari. Ut quemadmodum jam plerisque annis, omnium fuit abominationum (ut uno vocabulo mala omnia complector) parens et pater, non Christi, sed Sathanæ opera porrigens, ita et tandem resipiscat, ut de uno tam famoso peccatore converso, gaudeant multi Christiani viri, qui nunc illum odio prosequuntur; odio inquam bono et justo. *Iniquos* (inquit Propheta) *odio habui.* Et cum primis discat Episcopus Romanus intra suos fines se continere. Stulte enim id vendicat hæreditario jure, quod sancti parentes neque habuerunt unquam, nec habere voluerunt.

Nullam primatum accepit D. Petrus.

Nihil enim minus arrogavit sibi D. Petrus, quàm hujusmodi primatum. Exercuit nunquam. Ideo non exercuit, quia non accepit. Nusquam reperies illum, aut aliquem Apostolorum aliquando misisse, aut alicui jussisse quicquam. Illum ab Apostolis una cum Johanne missum legimus, Act. viii. Quod autem in Ananiam fecit Petrus Act. v. non ut primatum habens, sed tanquam unum Apostolorum fecisse, tam ex principio illius cap. quam ex alia parte exploratum est. Ait enim, non ad Petri, sed ad Apostolorum pedes Ananiam agri pretium posuisse. Postea verò, ne Petrum in Ananiam id fecisse putaretur, superioris potestatis gratia, non per manus Petri, sed *per manus Apostolorum* (inquit Lucas) *fiebant signa et prodigia multa in plebe*, spiritu prophetiæ huic malo velut occurrens. Neque in alio loco, ut tolleretur murmur Græcorum contra Hebræos, multitudinem discipulorum convocavit Petrus, sed *duodecim*, inquit, &c. Act. vi. Neque constat in illo loco, quis eorum ad multitudinem sermonem fecerit. *Dixerunt* (inquit) &c. cum tamen præsentes essent duodecim omnes; quia sic narrat Lucas, quorum unus erat D. Petrus.

114 Quod si absolutam illam, quam jactant, haberet solus Petrus potestatem, quid de Paulo dicemus, qui eo inconsulto, Corinthios, Galathas, Romanos ipsos, &c. sua doctrina solidavit: Timotheum Ephesiis, Titum Cretis, ut quæ deessent, corrigeret, presbyteros per civitates constitueret, &c. præposuit; ipsum Petrum in facie reprehenderit, &c.?

Neque contulit Evangelium cum solo Petro, sed cum Apostolis, ad Galat. ii. Quod si D. Petro primatum potestatis asserere voluerimus, ultra Judæos non protenditur Pauli testimonio, qui se positum ait prædicatorem gentium et doctorem, 1 Timoth. ii. Et non minus creditum ei Evangelium præputii, quam Petro circumcisionis. Neque Petrum neque Apostolos reliquos omnes, quicquam illi contulisse, ait. Neque Petro primatus quicquam tribuit supra alios Apostolos. Ait enim, *Jacobus, Cephas et Joannes, qui videbantur columnæ esse, societatis dextras dederunt mihi et Barnabæ.* Ad Galat. ii. In quo loco non modo Petrum æquat aliis, sed etiam primæ vocationis honore non præmittit. Priorem enim Jacobum nominat.

Tu es Petrus, &c.

Neque ad rem pertinet, quod Petro loqueretur Christus in Evangelio, dicens; *Ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam:* Mat. xvi. Non enim ædificavit Christus Ecclesiam suam super Simonem Petrum, super hominem, hoc esset planè super harenam ædificare, sed super illam fidem, quam confessus est Petrus, quod Christus esset Filius Dei, &c. Huic ait in Simonis Petri persona omnibus Apostolis, *Simon, ecce Sathanas expetivit vos,* &c. *Ego autem rogavi, ut non deficiat fides tua,* &c. Luc. xxii. Quod autem dixi Christum loquutum omnibus Apostolis in persona Petri, ne videatur somnium esse meum, omittam omnes veteres interpretes, tam Græcos quam Latinos, et solum mihi Lyranum, familiarem illum et domesticum, omnibus Romani Episcopi adulatoribus interpretem, accipio. In illo enim loco xvi. Mat. sic explanat: " *Et ego dico tibi, pro te* (inquit Lyranus) " *et pro sociis tuis*, quia *tu es Petrus*, id est, confessor " veræ petræ, qui est Christus factus; et *super hanc pe-* " *tram* quam confessus es, id est, super Christum, ædificabo " Ecclesiam meam." Hæc Lyranus ad verbum. Neque alius est sensus illius loci, Luc. xxii. Fides etenim Petri, quam confessus est, non illius solius Petri est, sed totius Ecclesiæ. Sic orans pro fide illius, oravit Christus pro fide Ecclesiæ, id quod solum fundamentum est, 1 Corinth. iii. Quod autem addidit Luc. xxii. *Tu aliquando conversus,*

Simon, ecce Sathanas, &c.

confirma fratres tuos; hoc enim et ad omnes, et ad singulos quosque fideles, in Petri persona, loquebatur Christus. Est quidem officium unius cujusque Christiani viri fratrem solicitè docere, consolari, corripere, &c. "Convertamur igitur "omnes, (inquit ibidem D. Ambrosius,) et caveamus, ne in "perditionem aliqua inter nos de prælatione possit esse "contentio." Item paulo post, sermonem ad Deum vertens, "Tua (inquit) ædificatio quæritur, non alterius honor. Et "ideo datur una omnibus forma sententiæ, ut non de prælatione jactantia sit, sed de humilitate contentio." Hactenus Ambrosius.

Et tu conversus, &c.

Quod autem ait Christus ad Petrum, *Et tu conversus,* &c. non sentit de futurâ suâ potestate, sed quod modo, cum conversus fuerit, et fidem receperit, et quidem celeriter, quia primam Dei sequutus est vocem, (ut ait D. Ambrosius,) studeat alios in eadem fide confirmare. Id quod nullius
115 Christiani viri non est officium, ut supra dixi. Hanc itaque doctrinam omnibus dedit in persona Petri; potissimùm verbi prædicatoribus.

Non erat itaque Ecclesiæ potestas in persona Petri. Absit, ut ab humana fragilitate pendeat Christi Ecclesia; sed cum esset primus Apostolorum, ordine, non potestate, propter illum primatum (inquit Augustin. Joan. ultimo) non verè, sed figurata generalitate, Ecclesiæ personam gerebat. Quod autem ad ipsum Petrum propriè pertinet (inquit Augustinus) unus homo erat, gratiâ, unus Christianus abundantiore gratiâ, unus idemque primus Apostolorum, &c. Lege ibidem quæ sequuntur in nostram sententiam, adeo perspicuè, ut nihil clarius. Primus erat Apostolorum primaria potestate præditus. Erant enim potestate æquales.

Trina interrogatio Christi.

Nec trina illa interrogatio, una cum commissione, ut oves pasceret, Joan. ultimo, magis ad Petrum quam alios Apostolos pertinet, nisi quod trina illa interrogatione Petrum confirmare voluit Christus, commemoratione prioris trinæ negationis suæ, ut solidius in fide incederet. Hinc ait, *Sequere me.* Neque trina illa Christi interrogatio de dilectione, omnes non solicitè admonet de fide erga Deum et dilectione ejus, unde omnis virtus emanat.

Si adesset itaque D. Petrus nihil haud dubiè magis ægrè ferret, quam quod suo titulo suoque nomine, hanc plusquam secularem potestatem sibi vendicat Romanus Episcopus. Si enim D. Petrus hanc potestatem a Christo accepisset cum illo mandato, ut solus exerceret, ab eoque suam potestatem acciperent alii omnes, ut nunc sibi arrogat Romanus Episcopus, et peccasset valde Petrus, qui jussioni non obtemperabat; et perditissimè errassent, qui absque eo in Ecclesia Christi ministrassent. Neque hanc rem tacuisset, in Apostolorum Actis, Lucas haud dubiè, qui post Christi ascensionem Apostolorum gesta scripsit. Sed quam alienum est ab Actis Apostolorum jam satis perspicuè diximus.

Unde prodit Episcopi Romani arrogati potestas.

Cum ergo hanc non haberet potestatem D. Petrus, unde arrogavit sibi Romanus Episcopus? A principum scilicet atque populorum nimia tolerantia, et illius loci Episcoporum fœda ambitione et superbia. Id quod ut omni solo clarius perspicias, efficiam; neque tam multis. Primum, certius aliud nihil est sub cœlo, quam quod Episcopo Romano aut primatus aut potestatis plus non tribuatur jure divino, quam cuivis alii Episcopo, sive in Anglia, sive in Gallia, sive in Italia, cum ne D. quidem Petrus haberet. Super est ut eam, quam arrogat potestatem, humano jure habuerit, necesse est. Plerique igitur ex primis Romanis pontificibus neque ambierunt, neque exercere aliquando conati sunt, neque illis, aut eorum cuivis tribuerunt alii, talem potestatem. Extant quidem nonnullæ familiares epistolæ D. Cypriani Episcopi Carthaginensis ad Cornelium Romanum Episcopum, ducentos et quinquaginta circiter annos post Christum. Quantum vero primatus illi tribuat, illarum superscriptio docet non obscurè: *Cyprianus Cornelio fratri* (inquit) *salutem.* Neque epistolarum verba ampliorem illi potestatem tribuunt. Fidem verò verbi Dei, quam ambo Apostoli Petrus et Paulus, tam sua doctrina quàm tandem martyrio, solidam reliquerunt, præ cæteris locis Romæ, et venerati sunt prisci illi Patres, et integram adhuc Cypriani ætate, servarunt felices Romani Episcopi. Neque Damaso Romano Episcopo trecentos et quadraginta octo circiter annos,

post Christi ad Patrem hinc reditum, alium primatum tri-
116 buit D. Hieronymus in suis ad eum epistolis, quam ut fidem illius Romanæ sedis imitetur, et eam magnifacit. Quod autem ait D. Hieronymus, *Extra hanc domum qui agnum comederit, prophanus est*, in epistola quæ incipit; *Quoniam vetusto*, to. 3. pag. 59. *Extra hanc fidem* haud dubie sentit; quantumvis in illo potissimum loco non tam sincerè loqui videtur Erasmus, quam in aliis plerisque locis, qui illam domum nimis inadvertenter Romanæ Ecclesiæ primatum interpretatur. Non enim in illa ætate agnoscebatur hujusmodi primatus.

Quinam primatus Episcopo Rom. in Concilio Niceno:

Quod si aliud nihil extra sacras literas hujus primatus vim enervaret, de ipsoque omnem opinionem tolleret, satis, mea sententia, primum illud sanctissimum Niceni [Nicenum] concilium, omnibus ut certam doctrinam accipiant, sufficeret; in quo neque aderat Romanus Episcopus, neque præerat vicaria quavis potestate. Procuratorem ut confrater et coepiscopus illuc miserat, in eodemque in hunc ordinem constitutus est Romanus Episcopus, ut Apostolorum Petri et Pauli honoris gratia, primum locum inter Episcopos haberet, alium primatum nullum.

Et apud Græcam Ecclesiam.

Neque Græcorum Ecclesia inter tot beatissimos, eosdemque in sacris literis doctissimos viros, alium aliquando de Romana Ecclesia primatum agnoscere voluit. Id quod miretur nemo, cum postea in Africano Concilio ducentorum decem et octo Episcoporum id idem negatum est Bonifacio Romano Episcopo, qui primatum ambiebat. Præsens erat Divus Augustinus, Aurelio Valentino Episcopo præsidente. Si verbo Dei hanc supremam potestatem haberet Romanus Episcopus, tot optimos et eruditissimos Patres utriusque linguæ haud dubiè non fugissent, neque negassent, quod sacræ literæ firmassent. Nulla ergo de verbo Dei erat controversia in Africano Concilio quod ad primatum Romani Episcopi attinet, sed an talem illi potestatem dedisset Nicenum Concilium, humanus consensus in dubium vocabatur. Hinc et Romani Episcopi Procuratores, ut Niceni Concilii articulos acciperent, rogarant Africani, et ne dolo circumvenirentur, in Græciam nuntios miserunt illi, qui afferrent. Hæc gesta sunt ad quadringentos viginti quatuor annos ab anno salutis.

An Angli obligantur Romanæ sedi.

Non objiciat nobis Anglis argutus quispiam, quod Romanæ sedis solicitudine, regnante Lucio, primi omnium provinciarum, anno salutis humanæ 182. Christi fidem accepimus. Quis nescit non hominis, sed Dei esse donum, fidem? ut ait Apostolus ad Ro. xii. Id quod in hoc loco perspicuum est. Quia Lucium regem non solicitarit Eleutherius Romanus Episcopus, sed per literas egit Lucius cum Eleutherio, ut Christi fidem, hoc est - - - - as, acciperet. Misit itaque Eleutherius Fugatium et Damianum, &c. Neque non postea, anno a natali Christi 603. Augustinum et Miletum [Mellitum] Monachos, una cum aliis misit D. Gregorius, qui prope extinctam in Britannia fidem, Anglorum dominio, renovavit, normas religiosæ vitæ in Christo nonnullas dedit, &c. Hæc et nonnulla alia nobis, inquam, objiciunt; quibus Romanæ sedis nos obligatiores docere cupiunt, quam alias nationes, paucis respondetur. Nisi Eleutherius rogatus a rege viros misisset, qui sanctum conatum suum auxissent, ejusque petitioni satisfecissent, haud Episcopi nomine, sed dæmonis dignior fuisset. Magis miror illum non accurrisse. Gregorii solicitudinem quis non laudat? Ejus canones libenter Ethelbertus Rex amplexus est, aliud non docentes quam sanas et religiosæ vitæ in Christo regulas, quibus velut duceretur facilius in fidem 117
Christi novitius adhuc populus. Non imperium sibi arrogavit, dominari non ambiebat, venit exemplo Christi ministrare, non ministrari. Aliis mandatis, jussionibus, imperiis regnare noluit, quam verbo Dei. Non coegit provinciæ homines ad se venire, dirimendarum causarum gratia, citationibus, comminatoriis, excommunicationum [fulminibus] populum vexare noluit. Tantùm ad sanam vitam hortatus est. In hac re omnem solicitudinem exercuit, omnes vires exhibuit, quærens non quæ sua fuerunt, sed quæ Christi. His mandatis obediebat Christianissimus Rex. His monitionibus parebat populus Deo deditus, non quia jubebat homo

Romanus Episcopus, sed qui mandat Deus. Non suis verbis hortatus est, sed Christi.

Ab hoc verbo cum degeneraverit Romanus Episcopus, quid justius quam illum, et ambitiosos ejus canones omnes rejicere, respuere prorsus? Non enim sunt Christi, sed verè hujus sæculi canones, quid aliud quam fastum, ambitionem, superbiam, avaritiam non docent. Hinc insignis hujusmodi primatus, hinc dominium, plusquam regum gentium, hinc abhorrendum illud pedum osculum. Paulus et Barnabas exilierunt in turbam, etiam conscissis vestibus præ dolore, cum eos cœpisset adorare populus, clamantes, *Et nos mortales sumus, similes vobis homines.* Act. xiv. Cum vero ad Petri pedes procideret Cornelius, illico elevavit eum Petrus dicens, *Surge, et ego ipse homo sum.* Act. x. Quonam igitur modo cupit Romanus Episcopus ut ei sint audientes Christiani populi, postquam omnia quæ mandat tam sunt adversa Christo? Aut ergo Christus deserendus est, aut his moribus Romanus Episcopus. Nemo potest duobus his dominis servire.

Pedum Papæ osculatio.

Rex excutit Papam.

Quamdiu Christum sequuti sunt Romani Episcopi, nulla fuit omnium Christianorum natio, tam illi subjecta, tam obediens (non supremæ potestatis gratia, sed sua sponte) quam Anglica, in magnam usque superstitionem. Neque non diu et multis quidem annis intolerabiles ab hac sede Romana molestias injuriasque sustinuit Anglica respublica. Postquam vero neque modus neque finis reperiri posset, prudentissimus Rex non aliter quàm debuit, quamvis tardè, suæ reip. consuluit. Constituit ille, cui omnes verbo Dei obedire tenemur, ne obedientiam illi præstemus, qui nullo verbo Dei obedientiam exigit. Qui ergo Christianus et haberi et esse vult, Christi verbo obediat necesse est. Regi obedire teneri verbo Dei, ut perspicuè docuimus, Romano Episcopo neutiquam. Jubet Rex ut illi obtemperes. Jubet Romanus Episcopus, ut illi te subjicias: jubet Rex verbo Dei. Humano jure sibi vendicat Romanus Episcopus. Si te Christianum fatearis, Dei verbo parebis. *Si me diligis* (inquit Christus) *serva mandata mea. Nam quicunque non* *diligit me, mandata mea non servat. Et quicunque non mecum est, contra me est,* inquit. Ut ergo sis ex parte Dei, agas quod mandat Deus necesse est. Alias quidem eris planè de inimicis illis, qui noluerunt Regem regnare super se, ut ait Lucas, cap. xix. Moriemini in peccatis vestris, quia Deum non modo non diligitis, sed etiam odio eum habere videmini, quia verbum ejus respuitis, et planè contemnitis, postquam id docti estis, nisi spreta omni humana potestate, verbo Dei obedieritis. Verbum Dei est, obedire Regi, non Episcopo Romano.

Quodam tacito humano consensu irrepsit in hanc ditionem Romanus Episcopus. Ex multis et quidem justissimis causis, ut partim supradiximus, expresso consensu sancitum est, 118
huic potestati amplius ne subjugamini. Hoc mandat Deus, quia Rex Dei in terris minister; cui verbo Dei suprema potestas datur, hoc præcipit. Utitur jure suo. Non vult amplius pati, ut qui diu nimis, non alia quam precaria potestate usus est, illum è suo jure extrudat. Huic sanctioni obedire tenetur quisquis Anglus est, ut cum primis Regem - - - - Reip. *Supremum Caput* diligatis, ut vos - - - hujus capitis membra estis. Diligatis vos invicem magis ac magis, sicut ego (inquit Christus) et dilexi vos. Ut ab hac unanimi - - - - - - - quietam in hac momentanea vita agatis, et post hanc vitam filii sitis Dei, cohæredes Christi, quem diligitis, cujusque verbo obediistis in vitam æternam. *Amen.*

Number XLIII.

A letter of Hugh Latymer to Hubberdine; who had preached against the new learning.

The Sprite of God be with you, to seale the trowth, and folowe the same. Amen.

I DOWT not, Master Haberdyne, but that yee have redd the sayenge of the Sprete by hys prophet Esaias, *Væ! qui dicunt bonum malum, et malum bonum; ponentem lucem tenebras, et tenebras lucem,* &c. Which words after myne understanding be thus moch in English: *Woo,* or eternal

Foxii MSS.

dampnation, *be unto them which saye that good ys evell, and that evell is good: calling lyght darckness, and darckness lyght*, &c. Take hede. Remembre your self wel. Yee maye mocke and deceive us: *Deus non irridetur. God wil not*, for all that, *be mocked.* It ys not the sayenge of wyse Aristotle, of godly Plato, of holy Thomas; no, nor yet of subtile Duns, (who, for al their wysedome, godliness, holyness, and subtilty, deceived, were deceived, and lyed,) but it is the eternal and perpetual word of God. Who as he deceiveth no man, so can he be deceived of no man, nor yet make any lye. God it is that sayth, *Woo*, or eternal dampnation, *be unto hym that sayeth good is evell*, &c. It is no thretnyng of man, but it is the sentence of God: wherfore it is the more to be feared, and undowtedly to be loked for. For it is only the word of God, that lasteth ever, and may sustayne no chaunge.

Do you mervel, wherfore I say this? It is only brotherly love, and my conscience which compelleth me, as bonden, brotherly to admonish you, not only of the grevous blasphemies against the truth, which ye uttered here on the Ascension-day; but also to exhorte you to desist of your purposed blasphemie and lies against God and his word, which ye have promised to prove in this same place this day. And that ye may know that ye inexcusably blasphemed and belied the trouth, and promised to do the same, partly here I wil confute your blasphemies that be past, and partly that be promysed.

119 And fyrst to begynne with that which ys past. Ye sayed, that it was plaine, that this *new lerning* (as ye call it) was not the trowth, and so not of God, but contrarywise that it was lyes, and so surely of the Devell. This your assertion ye proved by two maner conjectures. The one is, that the professors of it lyve noughtly, and the other ys, that Prestes be persecuted of them. Which two persuasions, though they be in very dede lyes, as I trust in God to show them: yet though they were true, did but yeasily prove your intencion. For after the same maner ye maye as wel openly improve Christ and al hys doctrine, as ye do now under a

colour. Of which I wil entreate more largely. But to our purpose, that as ye say it is playne, that this *new lernynge* (as ye call it) is not the trowth, and so not of God, but contrarywise, it is lyes, and surely of the Devle: herein are contayned three great blasphemies and abhominable lyes, injurious both to God and his word: and, I fear, synne agaynst the Holy Ghost: for they are even the same words with thexample of Christ, declaring the synne agaynst the Holy Ghost.

For to begynne withal: ye call the Scripture the *new lerninge;* which I am sure is eldre than any lerninge that ye wote to be the old. But if ye wil say that it ys not the Scripture that ye cal new, but other bokes, lately put in English: I answare, that the Scripture was the fyrst with you and your fautors condemned. Besyde, that those other, for the most, teach nothing, but that which ys manifest in the Scripture; and also playne in the auncient Doctors. I speak not of your old Doctors, Duns and Saint Thomas, Halcot, Briget, - - - - - but of Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostome, Ambrose, Hilary, and soch other. Which in like maner be called new doctors, as the Scripture new lerninge; as Tully new Latine, the text of Aristotle new philosophy, and likewise of al the sciences. And so in this appereth your fyrst lye, that ye cal the Scripture *new doctrine:* except that ye wold cal it new, other because it makes the receavors of it new men, or els that it ys now newly restored unto the world, for the condemnation of them that reject it, and the salvation of the receavors. Of which newnes I am sure you spake not. I pray you was not the Scripture, if ye wold contend, before your most auncient Doctors, that ye can allege to have written of it? Was it not, afore they wrote upon it, better receaved? more purely understande? of more myghty workynge, then it ys now, or sens they wrote upon it? In Saint Pauls tyme, when there was no writers upon the New Testament, but that the playne story was then newly put forth, were there not more converted by, I dare boldly say, two parties, then there be at this houre; I wil not say Christien men, but that professe the

name of Christ? Is it not now the same word as it was then? Is not the same scholemaster, that taught them to understande it then, which, as Saint Peter saith, ys the Sprete of God, alyve, as wel as he was then? Doth he not favour us now, as wel as he did then? Have we hym not now, as wel as we had then? If we have not the Sprete of Christ, S. Paul sayeth, so be we no Christen men. And yf we be no Christen men, so be you deceavers and false prophets; preaching unto your self your authoritie and your constitutions without the word of God; which is only the
120 rule of faith, according to the saying of Saint Paul: where he sayeth, that *faith ys of hearing*. And that not of al maner hearing, but of hearing of the word of God. Which faith also is the fyrst frute of the Sprite of God. Which Sprite yf we have not, so testifie you against us, that we be no Christen men, and against your self, that you be no mynisters, or shepards of Christ, nor of his word, but the mynisters of Antichrist, and shepards of your own bellies. Which Sperit yf we have, so beareth us witnes S. Paul, that we be Christen men, and S. Peter, that we may understand the Scripture. Which only is that the lay people desyre: utterly contemnynge al mens draughtes, and al mens writings, how wel lerned soever they be; only contented with their old and new scholemaster, the Holy Spirit of God, and the Mynister there to of hym elect, and by him sent.

But you wil say, ye condempne not the Scripture, but Tyndals translation. Therein ye show your self contrary unto your words. For ye have condemned it in al other commen tongues, where in they be approved in other countries. So that it is playne, that is the Scripture, and not the translation, that ye bark against, calling it *new lerning*.

This moch for the fyrst. And as for the two other be sone confuted. That it ys *not the trouth*, nor *of God*, but *lyes*, and *of the Devel*. O! Jesu, mercy, that ever soch blasphemie against the Holy Ghost shuld procede out a Christen mans mouth. Is it not al one to saye, that the doctrine of Christ is lies, and cometh of the Devel, and that Christ ys a lyar, and the Devel? What difference, I pray you, ys here, betwixt this blasphemy and that which the Phariseys imputed unto Christ, when they saied, *We know that thou art a Samaritane, and hast the Devel within thee?* When that Christ sayed, that the blasphemie against the Holy Ghost shuld never be forgeven. Iff ye have sayed this of ignorance, I pray God bring you to knowlege and repentance. Yf ye spake it against your conscience, of malice against the trouth, (as he knoweth, *qui scrutator cordium est*,) I fear me, lest tyme of repentance, which God forbid, shal ever be geven you in this lyfe. O! Lord God, what a wresting of the Scripture was it to enterpretate and - - - those words of S. Paul, *before the coming of Antichrist, there shal be a departing from the Pope*, when as the text sayeth playnely, Antichrist was comen already, and that he then worked secretly, and that there shuld be a departing from the faith, and that he shuld be opened unto al men afore the commyng of Christ. For shame, na for conscience, other allege the Scriptures aright, without any soch wresting, or els absteyne out of the pulpet.

But now to come to your conjectures, by which ye persuaded your assertions; that is, that the Scripture was new lerning, Christ a lyar and the Devle. Which are, that the fautors and professors thereof *lyve noughtly*, and that they *persecute prestes*. Fyrst, besydes that it ys manyfest, that your conjectures both be fals: for the purenes of lyfe of the favourers of it, I speyke of them that are of my only knowledge, their vertuous lyvinge ys so knowen, that it ys but folly for me to labor to confute it. And that they persecute prestes, I wold gladly here of one prest so moch as ones prisoned, I mean not for whoredom, theft and murders, with soch their commen practises, but for hys faithes sake: except it were soch as you your self persecuted, as ye do, for knowleging the trouth. Nede ye that I bring forth ex- 121
amples? Remember ye not the honest preste, that the last yere was martyred by you in Kent? Do ye not hold Nicolson, Smyth, Patmore, and Philips, with many other, in prison, yet at this howre?

[*The rest is wanting.*]

Number XLIV.

An old Popish Song made of Latimer.

1.

OH! thou ravishing wolf in a lambs skin,
What mischief encreaseth daily thee by?
For many saulys to the Devil thou dost win,
Beseching of thy abhominable heresie.
Yet feythful men thy words may defy.
The which is more to thy rebuke and shame,
So to impair the pore Christen name.

2.

The blessed pure virgin, and mother to Christ,
Thou seydest in preaching a sinner was she.
And therin like a false heretick thou lyest.
For she is a holy virgin, and ever shal bee.
Pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te.
This text Christ seid by her, as in Scripture is told.
Wherfore it is pity thou shouldest dy for cold.

3.

The holy and blessed salutation angelical,
Sent down from the high throne of the Trinitie,
Thou wouldest not have called a prayer at all.
Yet a prayer it is, and ever wil bee,
In the despite both of the Devil and thee.
For to babble soch things thou wast too bold.
Wherfore it were pity thou shouldest dy for cold.

4.

The saulys that in the paines of purgatory be,
To release them furth thus didst thou sey,
For them we shold not do such charitie,
Ne ask no boon at al, for them to prey.
Which opynions wer good for thee to renay,
Lest Almighty God sey, as he shold,
Let not this heretick soch errors hold.

5.

Also devout pilgrimage, which good men have sought,
For stocks and stones thou reputest them to be.

Yet God for them many myracles hath wrought,
As by exemple daylie we see.
I know they be images, as wel as ye.
  Pictures made devotion to uphold,
  Therfore it wer pity that down they shold.

6

Doctor Folelatus ordeyned *prædicatorum.*
A meter name for thee ther cannot be,
In as moch as thou art *fons hæreticorum.*
But the clout must hange with thee in show perdie,
Or els your scapuler wold hang beneth your knee.
  So it is a seying of young and old,
  That pity it were thou sholdest be so uphold.

7.

I mervayl of you, that be Minysters in towne,
What honour thereby you intend to wyn,
The wrong to uphold, and the right to ley down.
It were meter for some of you to turn a shepes skin,
To se that ther wer no maggots therin;
  Then in soch matiers to be so bold.
  Take hede at last you be not al controld.

8.

It is no mervayl though some be so madd,
To take the wronge, and ryght regardeth lest.
Wher ther be so many soch fantasie have had.
For *quod natura dedit nemo tollere potest.*
Yet forsake thy warkes, and lyve not leke a beast.
  For yf *Pater sequitur suas partes* in mold,
  Then were it not pity thou sholdest be uphold?

9.

What feyth is grounded in any of them al,
That so lyghtly wyl be turned out of the ryght way,
Forsaking swete hony, and tasting byttre gall:
As ther grete sire and heretick hath lerned them, I say?
Who by hys acts and theires, apperyth every day.
  For Gods love, them nother mayntayn, ne uphold,
  Lest at length ye dy, afore that you be old.

10.

Go, litle treatise, voyd of all eloquence,
I prey to God, that thou mey comme to lyght;
Though thou be endyted for lack of intelligence,
Yet is thy intent to uphold the ryght,
And al hereticks to confound, yf thou myght.
Whom I prey Jesu Christ them to amende,
Or els short lyfe and evel dethe them sende.

122 11.

L for Lollard standes in thys place.
A for error of grete iniquitie.
T for a traytour to God, lackyng grace.
I for ignoraunce of the true Trinitie.
M for maynteyner of those that nought be.
E for eretick, as lerned men seyth.
R for rebeller agaynst Christs feyth.

An Answer to this Sonnet.

HE was a lamb, and thou a wolf shalt prove.
The blessed Virgin he did not abuse:
But stocks and stones he preached to remove,
And pilgrimages, which dyd men abuse.
Idolatry he wold al shold refuse,
And cleave unto Gods word, it to uphold,
Which thou woldest hyde with face of brass ful bold.

Number XLV.

A Popish discourse of Antichrist.

YEE, that are willing to know of Antichrist, shal know first, Why he is so called: therfore, that is to say, because in al things he is contrary to Christ, and shal do things contrary to Christ. Christ cometh humble, he cometh proud. Christ cometh to raise up the humble, and to justify sinners: he contrarily shal cast down the humble, magnify sinners, exalt the wicked, and shal alwayes teach vices, which are contrary to vertues: and the evangelic law shal he bring to nought, and shal renew and bring again into the world the doctrin of the Devil, seking vain glory, and shal name himself the Omnipotent God.

This Antichrist therfore hath many ministers of his malignity. Of whom many have gone before in the world, as Antiochus, Nero, and Domitian were. We also have known many Antichrists to be in our time. For whosoever he be, whethere he be a layman, or a canonist, or a monk, that liveth against justice, or impugneth the glory of his order, and blasphemeth that which is good, he is an Antichrist, a minister of Sathan.

But now let us se of the beginning of Antichrist. That truly which I say, I faigne it not, neyther do I invent it of mine proper sense, but by diligent reading of the books I find al these things written. For as our authors say, Antichrist shalbe born of the Jewes; of the tribe of Dan; according to the prophet, saying, *Dan shal be a serpent in the way, an adder in the path.* Gen. xlix. For like as a serpent shal he sit in the way, and be in the path, that he may stryke them that walk in the path of justice, and slay them with the poison of his malice. He shal be born by the copulation of a father and mother, as other men: not, as some say, of alone virgin. But notwithstanding he shal be conceyved wholly in synne, engendred in sinne, and born in sinne. In the very beginning of his conception, the Devil also shal enter into the womb of his mother, and shal be norished and defended in his mothers belly by the power of the Devil, and the power of the Devil shal be alwayes with him. And like as the Holy Ghost came into the mother of our Lord, and shadowed her with his vertue, and filled her with godlines, that she might receave of the Holy Ghost, that it which should be born should be divine and holy: so also the Devil shal come into the mother of Antichrist, and shal fill her wholly, compass her round about, hold her wholly, and altogether, both inwardly and outwardly, shal 123
possess her; that she may conceyve by a man, (the Devil working,) and that it which shal be born may be altogether wicked and perditious. Wherupon he is called both the

son of sinne and the *son of perdition*, because, as much as he may, he shal destroy al humane kind, and he himself at the last shal be destroyed.

Behold! ye have heard how he must be born: hear also the place where he must be born. For like as our Lord and Redeemer did foresee for himself Bethlehem, that there for us he might take humanitie, and vouchsafe to be born; so the Devil knoweth a fit place for that man of perdition, which is called Antichrist, from whom the root of al mischief shal spring, that is to say, the city of Babylon. For in this city, which sometime was the most renowned and glorious city of the Gentiles, and chief of the kingdom of the Persians, shal Antichrist be born: and in the cities Bethsaida and Corozaim must he be brought up and be conversaunt. Which cities the Lord in the Evangelist curseth, saying, *Wo unto thee, Bethsaida! wo unto you, Chorozaim!*

Antichrist shal have wise men, witches, soothsayers, inchanters, who (the Devil inspiring them) shal nourish and teach him in al iniquitie, falsehood, and wicked art. And maligne spirits shal be his captaynes and fellows always, and unseparated companions. Afterwards coming to Jerusalem, al such Christians as wil not convert unto him shal he sley by divers torments, and place his seat in the holy temple. He shal restore also the holy temple, which Salomon builded unto God, in his state, and shal falsely say himself to be the son of God. But first he shal convert kings and princes unto him; and afterward, through them, the rest of the people. First, he shal destroy the places by the which our Lord Christ walked: and afterward he shal send his messengers and preachers throughout al the world. His preaching truly and power shal reach from sea to sea, from the east even unto the west, from the north even unto the south: and shal do also many signes, great, mervaylous, and not heard of: that is to say, trees sodenly to florish and wither, the sea to be troubled, and sodenly to be caulmed, natures to be chaunged into divers formes, the ayr to be moved with winds, and many other kind of motions, and other innumerable and mervaylous, the dead to be raysed in the sight of men: so that yf it may be, the very elect shal be brought into error. For when they shal se such great and like signes, they also, which are the most heavenly and perfect of God, shal doubt whether he be Christ, that shal come in the end of the world, according to the Scriptures, or no. Al these miracles truly by al means shal be false, through devilish enchantments. But unto sinners and unbelieving they shal seem to be true.

He shal stir up persecution under al the heaven, upon Christians and al elect. He shal set himself agaynst the faithful three wayes: that is, by terror, gifts, and miracles. He shal give unto you, beleving in him, aboundance of gold and silver. Those truly whom he cannot deceyve by gifts, he shal overcome by terror: and whom he cannot overcome by terror, he shal assay to seduce by signes and miracles. But those whom by signes he cannot allure, in the sight of al men shal he slay with most miserable death. Then shal there be such tribulation, as was not since the time, that nations began, even unto that time. Then they which are 124
in the field shal flee into the hills, and whoso is upon the bed shal not descend into the house, that they may take any thing out of it. Then every Christian, which shal be found, eyther he shal deny God, or els by the sweard, or by the fire of the fornace, or els by serpents, or els by beasts, or els by some such like kind of torment, shal he commaund to be slayne, yf they continue in their fayth.

This tribulation, so terrible and to be feared, shal continue altogether three yeare and an half. Then shal the dayes be shortned for the elect sake. For except he had shortned those dayes, no flesh should be saved.

The time truly, when Antichrist shal come, or when the day of judgment shal appear, Paul the Apostle, in his epistle to the Thessalonians, saying, *We beseke you, brethren,* 2 Thes. ii.
by the coming of our Lord Jesu Christ, in the same place sheweth it manifest, where he sayth, *For except the departing come first, and the man of sin be reveled, the son of perdition,* &c. For we know, because that after the king-

dom of the Grekes, or also after the kingdom of the Persians, out of which eyther of them hath for their time shined with great glory, and florished in most great power; at the last also, after other kingdoms, the kingdom of the Romans began: which was strongest of al the former kingdomes; and had al the kingdomes of the earth under its dominion, and al nations of the people were subject to the Romans, and served them under tribute. Afterward therfore, sayth the Apostle Paul, that Antichrist *shal not come into the world, except the departing come first:* that is to say, except al kingdomes, which were first subdued, shall depart from the Roman empire. But this time cometh not yet: because we must se the Roman empire for the most part destroyed. Yet notwithstanding so long as the kings of French men shal endure, who shal hold the Roman empire, the Roman empire shal not utterly perish; because it shal stand in their kings. For certain of our Doctours say, that one of the kings of the French men shal wholly hold the Roman empire. Which king shal be in the last time: and he shal be the greatest and last of al kings. Who after he hath luckily governed his kingdom, at the last shal come to Jerusalem, and lay down his scepter and crown in the mount Olyvet. This shal be the end and consummation of the empire of the Romans and al Christians. And then by and by, according to the aforesaid sentence of the Apostle Paul, they say, Antichrist shal come.

And then truly shal the *man of sin be revealed*, that is to say, Antichrist: who, although he be a man, notwithstanding shal be the welspring of al sin, and *son of perdition.* This is the son of the Devil, because in al things he shal do his wil. Because the plenitude of al devilish power and al wicked disposition shal corporally dwel in him. In whom al the treasures of maliciousnes and iniquity shal be hidden. Who *doth repugn*, that is to say, is contrary to Christ, and al his members: and *is exalted*, that is to say, set up into pryde, *above al thing that is called God;* that is, above the gods of the Gentiles, Apollo, Jupiter, Mercury, whom the Pagans estemed to be gods. Antichrist is ex-

tolled above al these gods, because he shal make himself
greater and stronger than they al. And not only above
them, but also *above al that is worshipped;* that is, above 125
the holy Trinity, which now is only to be worshipped and
adored of every creature. He shal so extol himself, that he
may *sit in the temple of God, shewing himself as he were
God.* For as we have afore said, being born in the city of
Babylon, coming to Jerusalem, he shal circumcide himself,
saying, I am Christ, which is promised you; who come for
your salvation, that you, who are dispersed, I may gather
together, and defend you.

Then shal al the Jews flee unto him, thinking to receyve God, but they shal receyve the Devil. Antichrist also shal sit in the temple of God, that is, in the holy temple, desiring al Christians to be martyrs, he shal be elevated and magnified, because the Devil, the head of al mischief, shall be in him; who is king over al the sonns of pride. Antichrist shal sodenly and unadvisedly come, and deceyve and destroy al mankind through his error.

Afore his beginning, two prophets shal be sent into the world; that is, Enoch and Helias: who by the divine wepons of God shal defend the faythful, and instruct them against wicked Antichrist, and shal comfort and set forward the elect unto war, teaching and preaching three years and an half. So many as can be found at that tyme of the children of Israel shal these two great prophets and doctours convert unto the fayth, and shal restore them from the oppression of so great trouble, being separated from the elect. Then shal it be fulfilled that the Scripture sayth, *If the number of the children of Israel shal be as the sand of the sea, those that are left shal be saved.* But after they shal have preached three yeares and an half, by and by the persecutions of Antichrist shal begin to wax hot. And Antichrist shal first take up his wepons agaynst them, and shal slay them, as it is said in the Apocalyps. *And when,* sayth he, *he shal end his testament, the beast shal come from the bottomles pit, and shal make war against them, and shal slay them.*

After that therefore these two shal be slayn, then pursuing the rest of the faythful, he shal eyther make glorious martyrs, or els cause many to forsake their Christian religion. And whosoever shal beleve in him shal receave the sign of his seal in their foreheads.

But now seing we have told of his *beginning*, let us shew what *end* he shal have. This Antichrist therfore the son of the Devil, the most vile worker of al evil, when he hath (as is aforesaid) vexed the whole world three yeares and an half with great persecution, and shal have vexed al the people of God with divers punishments, after he shal have slayne Helias and Enoch, and crowning the rest remayning in the fayth with martyrdome, at the last shal the wrath of God come upon him, as blessed Paul hath written, saying, *Whom the Lord shal slay with the breath of his mouth.* Finis.

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Number XLVI.

The general sentence, or curse: used to be read to the people four times in the year. Taken out of the Festival, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1532.

The Festival.

GOOD men and women, I do you to understande, that we that have the cure of your souls ben commaunded of our Ordinaryes, and by the constitucyons and the lawe of holy chyrche, to shew to you foure tymes in the yere, in eche quarter of the yere ones, whan the people is most plenary in holy chyrche, the articles of the sentence of cursynge. So that none for our defaute, neyther man nor woman, fall therin. And if ony be fallen therin, that he may thrugh the help of Almighty God, and al holy churche, with shryfte and penaunce makynge good for his synne, ryse up and hym amende. Wherfore I do you to understande, that cursynge is suche vengeance takynge, that it departeth a man from the blysse of heven, from howsel, shryfte, and al the sacramentes of holy churche, and betake hym to the Devyll, and to the paines of hell, the which shal endure perpetually without ende; but yf he have grace of our Lord hym to amende. But therfore se that no man or woman say, that I curse them, for it longeth not to me, but for to shewe the poyntes and the artycles of the sentence of cursyng. For I do you wel to wyte, that whoso doth agaynst ony of these poynts, that I shal shew you, he is accursed in the dede doyng, of the Pope, Archebysshop, Bysshope, and of al holy chyrche: and that God Almyghty gyve you grace for to kepe you out of cursynge, lysten and heare, and I shal, through the help of God Father Almighty, to you than tel and shew.

By the aucthorite of God, the Son, and the Holy Goost, and his gloryous mother and mayden, our Lady Saynt Marye: and the blessed apostles Peter and Poule, and al the apostles, martyrs, confessours, and virgyns, and al the halowes of God, I denounce and shew for accursed, al those that the fraunchyse of holy chyrche break or dystrouble, or are agaynst the state of holy chyrche, or therto assent with dede or counseyle. And also al those that deprive holy chyrche of ony right to make of holy chyrche ony laye fee, that is halowed or sanctifyed. And also al those that with holde the rightes of holy chyrche, that is to say, offerynges, tithes, rents, or fredoms of holy chyrche, let or dystrouble, or breake: that is to saye, yf ony man flee to chyrche, or chyrcheyard, whoso hym outdrawe, and al those that therto procure, or assent. And al those that purchaseth lettres of ony lords courte, wherfore lettynge is made in Chrysten courte, that process of right may not be determyned or ended. And al those that the peace of the land distrouble. And al those that blode draw of man or of woman in violence, or in vylany make to be drawen, in chyrche or in chyrcheyarde, wherfore the chyrche or the chyrcheyard is interdyted or suspended. And al those that be agaynst the ryght of our Soverayne Lord the Kynge. And al those that warr sustayne agaynst the King wrongfully. And al 127
those that are commune robbers, revers, or mansleers, but it be in themself defendynge. And al those that be agaynst the great charter of the Kynge, that is confermed of the courte of Rome. And al those that false wytnes beare wrongfully: namely in cause of matrymony, in what courte soever

it be, or out of courte. And al those that false wytnes bring forth in ryght of matrymony, for to distrouble man or woman. Or for to disheryte ony man of lands or tenements, or ony other catell. And al false advocates, that for mede put forth ony false excepcyons, or quarells, through the which the ryght of matrymony is foredone, or ony other maner of ryght instede of judgment. And al those that for mede or favour, malicyously man or woman bryngeth out of theyr good fame into wycked; or make them for to lese theyr worldly goods or honour, or them put wrongfully to their purgacyon, of the which was no fame ne renowne knowne before that tyme. And also al those that malicyously, and through cawtel or gyle, distrouble, letteth, or gaynsayeth the ryght presentment of our mother holy churche mylytaunt here in erth, thereas the very patrone shold be present; and al that therto procure with word or dede, or with false conquest, or with other power. And al those that malicyously despyse the commaundement of the Kynge, or take a cursed man from the tyme that he hath layen in cursyng xl dayes, and wil seke for no remedy. And al those, that prysoners distrouble with false judgement, or false enquest, and al those, that theyr delyveraunce purchase agaynst the ryght of holy chyrche. And al those that take mede for to distrouble peace, there love sholde be, and charite, or stryfe maynteyne with wordes or dedes, or tyl they have yelded agayne theyr mede, that they toke of them, they may never be assoyled: and al those that hold houses, manors, graunges of Parsones, Vycaryes, or of ony other man of holy chyrche agaynst theyr wyl. And al those that ony maner of movable good, or unmovable, away bear with strength, or wrongfully away draw or waste: of the which cursyng they may not be assoyled, tyl they have made satisfaccyon unto whom the wrong is done. And al those that ony maner of goods with vyolence or malice beare out of holy chyrche stedde or abbaye, or hous of relygyon, which that therin is layd or done for warandyse or socoure, or for to be kepte: and al those which that therto procure or assent. And al those that them mayntayne or sustayne.

And al those that have layd hand on preest or clerke with malyce, but it be by hymself defendynge. And al those that gyve counseyle to Sarasins, or help them agaynst Chrystendome. And al those that theyr chyldren wrongfully father wyttyngly, or theyr chyldren wyten ony other man with malyce. And al those that vary or slee theyr generatyons, or theyr children destroy with drynkes, or with ony other craft. And al those that make false mony, or therto be assentyng. And al those that good mony clyppe or shere, them to advauntage to deceyve ony man with. And al those that false the Popes bull, or counterfayte the Kynges seale. And al those that bye or sell with false measures, or false weyghts: that is to say, to bye with one, and to sel with another. And al those that false the Kynges standarde themself wytyng. And al those that ony testament distrouble, or therto procure with word or with dede, wherfore the deedes wil is not fulfylled. And al those that forswere them upon the holy dome, wyllyng and wytynge for mede, or for 128
hate, for to do ony man or woman to lese theyr worldly goods or honour. And al robbers or revers, openly or pryvely, by day or by night, or ony mannes good stele, wherfore they were worthy for to have judgment. And al those that withholde ony mannes good, that have ben spyred thryse in holy chyrche themselfe wyttynge. And al those that dystrouble the peace of holy chyrche, or of the land, and al the Kynges felons. And al those that them mayntayn. And al false conspyratours, and al false forswerers in assyses, or in ony other courte. And al those that ony false playnts put forth agaynst the fraunchyse of holy chyrche, or of the Kynge, or of the realme. And al those offrynges that are offred in holy chyrche or in chyrche yard or chapel, or in oratory, or in ony other stede within the provynce of Caunterbury, withholden, or put away in ony other place agaynst the wyl of the Parsone or Vycare, or theyr attourney in the parysshe, that it is offred in. And al those that theyr goodes away gyue for drede of deth, in fraud of holy chyrche, or to forbeare theyr dettes payenge. And al those that suche gyftes take, or therto helpe or counseyle. And al those that

let Prelates or Ordynaryes for to holde consystory, sessyon, or chapytres, for to enquyre of synnes, and of excesse, in good amendement of mannes soule. And al wytches, and al that on them byleve. And al heretykes that byleve not in the Sacrament of the Awter, that is Goddes own body in flesshe and blode in fourme of breed, and other sacraments, that toucheth helpe of mannes soule. And al juglers and usurers: that is to say, that yf ony man or woman lend they catell to man or woman for ony avauntage to take by covenaunt more or lesse than theyr own, and yf there be ony suche founde in towne or cite, the cite or the towne sholde be interdyted by the old lawe, and neyther do theyr masse, nor sacrament mynystred, tyl he were out therof. And al that withhold tythes, or withdraw theyr tithes wytyngly or malycyously, to the harme of holy chyrche; or tythes let to be gyven of al the goodes which they be commaunded, and ordeyned to be gyven by the law of holy chyrche, that is to say, of al fruytes of yerds, cornes, herbes, the ware, fruytes of trees, of al maner of beestes that are newynge, of wol, lambe and chese, in tyme of the yere of swannes, gese, douves, duckes, of bees, hony, wax, of hey, as often as it neweth: of flax, of hemp, of wyndmylles, or al maner of mylles, of al maner of marchaundyse of chaffryng men and of men of craft. And al those that malycyously or wyttyngly ony of these thynges, or ony other withhold, the which ought to be gyven to holy chyrche by Goddes law, to the harme of holy chyrche, and al that therto procure in word or in dede.

Modus fulminandi sententiam.

Prelatus alba indutus cum ceteris sacerdotibus in ecclesia existentibus, cruce erecta, candelis accensis, stans in pulpito, pronunciet verba q̀ue sequuntur.

Ex aucthoritate Dei Patris Omnipotentis et beate Marie Virginis et omnium sanctorum, excommunicamus, anathematizamus, et Diabolo commendamus, omnes supra dictos
129 malefactores, ut excommunicati sint, anathematizati, et Diabolo commendati: maledicti sint in villis, in campis, in viis, in semitis, in domibus, extra domos, et in omnibus aliis lo-

cis, stando, sedendo, jacendo, surgendo, ambulando, currendo, vigilando, dormiendo, comedendo, bibendo, et aliud opus faciendo, et illos a luminibus et omnibus bonis ecclesie sequestramus, et diabolo damnamus, et in penis inferni animas eorum extinguamus, sicut extinguitur ista candela; nisi resipiscant et ad satisfactionem veniant.

Finita sententia, extinguat lumen ad terrorem, pulsantibus campanis.

Number XLVII.

A letter of one Friar Laurence, concerning the divorce; and the favor of some Friars of Greenwich to Queen Katharine's cause. Written to Crumwel.

Jhesus.

REHTT worthy honnor and dygnyte for yowr hy wysdum and pollysy, grace and peace yn adversyte, for an humbyl and meke salutasyon. My Lorde, as I am ynformyd, by sartan of our brethryne, Fathar Robbynsone a pon Sunday last past dyd offar hyme selfe to contende yn dysputasyone with that wyrschypful Abbote, whytch that day dyd pretch at Powls Crose. Wher apon ys rysyn a commyn brute, that the frers of Grenwytch, yf they myhte be suffarde to tell the trothe, wollde pute to sylence al theyme whytche hath or shalle pretche in owre Sufferande the Kinges caws, and allso prove all thynges fals that they have pretchyde. Mor ovar the forsayd Father Robbynsun duth fully purpose to declar thys matter of matrimony betwyxte owr moste gracyus Sufferande and the Quene, and, as mytche os in hym ys, bothe with hys wyte and lernynge to justyfy the Quenes parte. Thys ys apoyntyde to be done apon Sunday nexte cummynge: and that wheros he may have the moste soleme awdyence. Wherfore excepte that yowr Lordschype doth fynde sum convenyent remydy by your hy pollysy, *error posterior erit priore pejor:* the Viccar of our covente ys of secrete cownselle yn all thys bysynes. He was with Fathar Robbynsun at Powlse Crose. He dyd brynge theys tydynges firste to our covente. He ys for the MSS. D. G. H. Eq.

moste parte contynually with owr Fathars at Lambethe, or els abrode amonkste Seculars; and by hys desaytful flatterynge, he dothe mytche harme bothe amonkste owr brethryne, and also amonkste Seculars. He dothe aprove yt to be well done, that owr Wardeyn dyd reprove the pretcher yn the pulpete withyn owr covent, bothe os consarnynge the tyme, and also the maner of hys spekynge: in so mytche, that he hath mayde reporte to sartayn brethryne of the covent of Rytchmonte, that yt was not owr Wardeyne, whytche dyd speke, but yt was the Holy Goste, that dyd speke yn hyme. Byt to yowr Lordschype he was of a contrary opynyon. Thus may yowr Lordschype manyfestly se and parsave howe full he ys of crafte, and dyssymulasyone. He also made reporte, that owr forsayd fathers schollde
130 schortely prevale aganste yowr Lordschype, and also aganste all themme, whitche dothe favowr owr Soverandes cawse. What he hath reportyd of me, I commyte my cawse to Gode: byt I have asuryde confydence yn owr grasyous Sufferand, that he wyll nevar be so unkynd to me os owr forsayd Vyccare hath reportyd hyme. For yf he schollde, I ware undone for evar.

If yt ware the gracyus plesure of owr most nobyll Sufferand to send for me, then wolld I disclose to hyme sartane thynges, whitche I dare note exprese, nethar by messynger, nor by wrytynge. Whitche thynges I trust schollde be bothe to the yncrese of hys honnor, and also to the forthrance of his purpose. Wherfor yf yt schal be hys gracyous pleysur to send for me, I humbly besytch your Lordschype to moschon hys Grace, that he doth send also for brother Lyste. Whitch to his lytyll powar dothe faythfully favoure our Sufferande and allso hys cawse. Whitche is allso dysyrus of your prosperyte. No mor to your Lordschype at thys tyme: byt Jhesu presarve yowe yn this presente lyfe by hys Grace. Whitche ended, he grawnte to yow glory eternalle. *Amen.*

Yowres yn alle thynges to hys lytyll powar,
John Lawrence.

Number XLVIII.

Sir Thomas More to Secretary Crumwel; excusing his communication with, and letter writ to, the Nun of Kent, &c.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 149.

RIGHT worshipful, After my most harty recommendations: it may please you to understand, that I have perceived by the relation of my son Rooper (for which I beseech Almighty God reward you) your most charitable labour taken for me towards the Kinges gracious Highnes, in the procuring at his most gracious hands the relief and comfort of this woful heavines, in which myne heart standeth, neither for the loss of goods, lands, or liberty, nor for any respect either of this kind of honesty, that standeth in the opinion of people, and worldly reputation. Al which maner things, I thank our Lord, I so little esteem for any affection therin toward my self, that I wil wel be content to jubarde, lese, and forgoe them al, and my life therewith, without a further respite, then even this same present day, either for the plesure of God, or of my Prince. But surely, good Mayster Cromwel, as I by mouth declared unto you some part (for al I neither then sayd, nor now write) it thorowly pierceth my poor hart, that the Kings Highnes (whose gracious favor towards me far above al the things of this world I have ever more desired, and wherof, both for the conscience of mine awne true faith and devotion towards him, and for the manifold benefits of his high goodnes continually bestowed upon me, I thought my self alway sure) should conceive any such mind or opinion of me, as to 131 think, that in my communication either with the nun or with the frerys, or in my letter written unto the nun, I had any other maner mind, than that might wel stand with the duty of a tender loving subject toward his naturall Prince; or that his G. should reckon in me any maner of obstinate hart against his plesure in any thing, that ever I said or did concerning his great matter of his mariage, or concerning the primatie of the Pope. Nor would I wish other thing in this world more liefe, then that his H. in these things al three, as perfectly knew my dealing, and as thorowly saw my mind, as I do my self, or as God doth himself: whose sight pierceth deeper into my hart, then mine awne.

The Nun.

For, Sir, as for the first matter, that is to wit, my letter or communication with the *nun*, (the whole discourse wherof in my former letter I have as plainly declared unto you as I possibly can,) so pray I God to withdraw that scruple and doubt of my good mind out of the Kings noble brest. And none otherwise, but as I not only thought none harme, but also purposed good. And in that thing most in which as I perceive his G. conceiveth most grief and suspition. That is to wit, in my letter which I wrote unto her. And therfore, Sir, sith I have by my writing declared the troth of my dede, and am ready by mine oath to declare the troth of mine intent, I can devise no ferther thing by me to be done in that matter, but only beseech Almighty God to put into the Kings gracious mind, that as God knoweth the thing is indeed, so his noble G. may take it.

The King's great matter of marriage.

As touching the second point, concerning his Gs *great matter* of his marriage, to the intent that you may se cause with the better conscience to make suite unto his H. for me, I shal as plainly declare you my demeanor in that matter, as I have already declared you in the other. For more plainly can I not.

Sir, upon a time, at my coming beyond sea, where I had been in the Kings busines, I repaired, as my duty was, unto the Kings G. being at that time at Hampton Court. At which time suddenly his H. walking in the gallery, brake with me of his great matter; and shewed me, that it was now perceived his mariage was not only against the positive laws of the Church, and the written law of God; but also in such wise against the law of nature, that it could in no wise by the Church be dispensable. Now so was it, that before my going over the sea, I had heard certain things moved against the bul of the dispensation, concerning the words of the law Levitical, and the law Deuteronomycal, to prove the prohibition to be *jure divino*. But yet per-

ceived I not at that time, but that the greater hope of the matter stood in certain faults, that were founden in the bul: wherby the bul should by the law be not sufficient. And such comforte there was in that point, as far as I perceived a good season, that the Council on the other part were fain to bring forth a brief, by which they pretended those debates to be supplyed. The truth of which brief was by the Kings Councel suspected: and mych diligence was there after don for the trial of that point. Wherin what was finally founden, either I never knew, or ellys I not remember. But I reherse you this to the intent you shal know, that the first time that ever I heard that point moved, that it should be in such high degree against the law of nature, was the time in which, as I began to tell you, the K. G. 132
shewed it me himself, and layd the Bible open before me, and shewed me the words that moved his H. and divers other erudite persons so to think, and asked me ferther what my self thought theron.

At which time, not presuming to look that his H. should any thing take that point for the more proved or improved for my poor mind in so great a matter, I shewed nevertheless, as my duty was, at his commandment, what thing I thought upon the words which I there read. Wherupon his H. accepting benignely my suddain unadvised answer, commanded me to commune ferther with Mr. Fox, now his Graces Almoner, and to read a book with him, that then was making for that matter. After which book read, and my poor opinion eftsones declared unto his H., his H. like a prudent and a virtuous Prince, assembled at another time at Hampton Court a good nombre of very wel learned men: at which time, as far as ever I heard, there were (as was in so great a matter most likely to be) divers opinions among them. Howbeit I never heard, but that they agreed at that time upon a certain form, in which the book should be made. Which book was afterward, at York Place, in my L. Cardinals chamber, read in the presence of divers Bps. and many learned men. And they al thought, that there appeared in the book good and reasonable causes, that might move the K. H. being so virtuous a Prince, to conceive in his mind a scruple against his mariage. Which while he could not otherwise avoyd, he did wel and virtuously, for the acquiescing of his conscience, to sue and procure to have his doubt decided by judgment of the Church.

After this the suite began, and the Legats sat upon the matter. During al which time I never meddled therin, nor was a man meet to do. For the matter was in hand by an ordinary process of the spiritual law: wherof I could little skil. And yet while the Legates were sitting upon the matter, it pleased the Kings H. to send me in the company of my L. of London, now of Durham, in ambassiate about the peace, that, at our being there, was concluded at Cameray, between his H. and the Emperor, and the French King. And after my coming home his H. of his only goodnes, as far unworthy as I was therto, made me, as you wel know, his Chancellor of his realm. Soon after which time his G. moved me again yet eftsones, to look and consider his great matter, and wel and indifferently to ponder such things as I should find therin. And if it so were, that therupon it should happe me to se such things as should persuade me to that part, he would gladly use me among others of his councellors in that matter. And nevertheles he graciously declared unto me, that he would in no wise that I should other thing do or say therin, than that I should perceive mine awne conscience should serve me. And that I should first look unto God, and after God unto him. Which most gracious words was the first lesson also, that ever his G. gave me at my first coming into his noble service.

This motion was to me very comfortable, and much I longed, beside any thing that my self either had seen, or by further search should hap to find for the tone part or the tother, yet especially to have some conference in the matter with some such of his Graces learned Councel, as most for his part had laboured and most hand found in the matter.
133 Wherupon his H. assigned unto me the now most reverend Fathers, the Archbps. of Canterbury and York, with

Master Dr. Fox, now his G's Almoner, and Master Dr. Nicolas, the Italian Frere. Wherupon I not only sought and read, and, as far forth as my poor wit and learning served me, wel weighed and considered every such thing, as I could find my self, or read in any other mannys labour, that I could get, which any thing had written therin: but had also diligent conference with his G's councellors aforesaid. Whose honors and worships I nothing mistrust in this point, but that they both have and wil report unto his H. that they never found obstinate manner nor fashion in me, but a mind as toward and as conformable, as reason could in a matter disputable require. Wherupon the Kings H. being ferther advertised, both by them and my self, of my poor opinion in the matter, (wherin to have been able and meet to do him service I would as I then shewed his H. have been more glad, than of al such worldly commodities, as I either then had, or ever shal come to,) his H. graciously taking *in gre* my good mind in that behalf, used of his blessed disposition, in the prosecuting of his great matter only those, of whom his G. had good number, whose consciences his G. perceived wel and fully persuaded upon that part: and as wel my self, as any other, to whom his H. thought the thing to seem otherwise, he used in his other business. Abiding of his abundant goodnes nevertheless gracious Lord unto me: nor never was willing to put any man in ruffle or trouble of his conscience.

After this did I nothing more therin; nor never any word wrot I therin, to the impairing of his G's part, neither before nor after, nor any man ellys by my procurement: but settling my mind in quiet to serve his G. in other things, I would not so much as look, nor wittingly let ly by me any book of the other part. Albeit that I gladly read afterwards divers books that were made on his part yet. Nor never would I read the book that Master Abel made on the other side; nor other books, which were, as I heard say, made in Latin beyond the sea, nor ever give ear to the Popes procedings in the matter.

Moreover, wheras I had founden in my study a book that

I had before borrowed of my L. of Bath, which book he had made of the matter at such time as the Legates sat here therupon, which book had been by me negligently cast aside, and that I shewed him I would send him home his book again, he told me, that in good faith he had long time before discharged his mind of that matter, and having forgotten that copy to remain in my hand, had burned his awne copy that he had therof at home: and because he no more minded to meddle in the matter, he desired me to burn the same book too; and upon my faith so did I.

Besides this, divers other wayes have I so used my self, that if I rehearsed them al, it would wel appear, that I never have had against his G's mariage any maner demeanor, wherby his H. might have any maner cause or occasion of displesure against me. For likewise as I am not he which either can, or whom it could become to take upon him the determination or decision of such a weighty matter; nor boldly to affirm this thing or that therin, wherof
134 divers points a great way pas my learning; so am I he, that among other his G's faithful subjects (his H. being in possession of his mariage, and this noble woman really anointed Queen) neither murmur at it, nor dispute upon it, nor never did, nor wil. But without any other maner meddling of the matter among his other faithful subjects, faithfully pray to God for his G. and her both, long to live and wel, and their noble issue too, in such wise as may be to the plesure of God, honor and surety to themself, rest, peace, wealth, and profit unto this noble realm.

The primatie.

As touching the third point, the *primatie* of the Pope, I nothing meddle in the matter. Troth it is, that as I told you, when you desired me to shew you what I thought therin, I was my self some time not of the mind, that the primatie of that see should be begun by the institution of God, until that I read in the matter those things that the Kings H. had written in his most famous book against the heretics of Martin Luther. At the first reading wherof I moved the K. H. either to leave out that point, or else to touch it more slenderly; for doubt of such things as after might hap to fal in question between his H. and some Pope: as between Princes and Popes divers times have don. Wherunto his H. answered me, that he would in no wise any thing minish of that matter. Of which thing his H. shewed me a secret cause, wherof I never had any thing heard before. But surely after that I had read his G's book therin, and so many other things as I have seen in that point by this continuance of these x years since and more, have founden in effect the substance of al the holy Doctors from S. Ignatius, disciple to S. John the Evangelist, unto our own dayes, both Latins and Greeks, so consonant, and agreing in that point, and the thing by General Councel so confirmed also, that, in good faith, I never neither read nor heard any thing of such effect on the other side, that ever could lead me to think, that my conscience were wel discharged, but rather in right great peril, if I should follow that other side, and deny the primatie to be provided by God. Which if we did, yet can I nothing, as I shewed you, perceive any commodity, that ever could come by that denyal. For that primatie is at the leastwise instituted by the corps of Christendome, and for a great urgent cause, in avoyding of schismes, and corroborate by continual succession more then the space of a thousand years at the least. For there are past almost a thousand years, sith the time of holy S. Gregory.

And therfore, sith al Christendom is one corps, I cannot perceive how a member therof may, without the common assent of the body, depart from the common head. And then if we may not lawfully leave it by our selves, I cannot perceive (but if the thing were a treating in a General Councel) what the question could avail, whether the primatie were instituted immediately by God, or ordained by his Church? As for the General Councels assembled lawfully, I never could perceive, but that, in the declaration of the truth to be believed and to be standen to, the authority therof ought to be taken for indubitable. Or else were there in nothing no certainty, but through Christendom, upon every mans affectionate reason, al things might be

brought, fro day to day, to continual ruffle and confusion. From which by the General Councels, the Spirit of God, assisting every such Counsel wel assembled, keepeth, and
135 ever shal keep, the corps of the Catholic Church. And verily, sith the K. H. hath, as by the book of his honorable Councel appeareth, appealed to the General Councel from the Pope, (in which Councel I beseech our Lord to send his G. comfortable speed,) methinkith in my poor mind, it could be no furtherance there unto his G's cause, if his H. should in his own realm before, either by laws-making, or books-putting forth, seem to derogate and deny, not only the primatie of the see apostolick, but also the authority of the General Councels. Which I verily trust his H. intendeth not. For in the next General Councel it may wel happen, that this Pope may be deposed, and another sustituted in his room, with whom the K. H. may be very wel content.

For albeit that I have for mine own part such opinion of the Popes primatie, as I have shewed you, yet never thought I the Pope above the General Councel, nor never have, in any book of mine put forth among the Kings subjects in our vulgar tongue, avaunced greatly the Popes authority. For albeit that a man may peradventure somewhat find therin, that after the common maner of al Christen realmes I speak of him as Primate; yet never do I stick theron with reasoning and proving of that point. And of my book against the *Masker*, I wrot not, I wot wel, five lynys, and yet of no mo, but only of S. Peter himself. From whose person many take not the primatie, even of those that graunt it none of his successors. And yet was that book made, printed, and put forth of very troth, before that any of the books of the Councel was either printed or spoken of. But wheras I had written therof at length in my confutation before, and for the proof therof had compiled together al that I could find therfore, at such time as I little looked that there should fal between the K. H. and the Pope such a breach as is fallen since; when I, after that, saw the thing likely to draw such displesure between them, I suppressed it utterly, and never put word therof into my book, but put out the remnant without. Which thing wel declareth, that I never intended any thing to meddle in that matter against the Kings gracious plesure, whatsoever mine own opinion were therin.

And thus have I, good Master Cromwel, long troubled your mastership with a long process of these matters, with which I neither durst, nor it could become me to encumber the Kings noble Grace. But I beseech you for our Lords love, that you be not so weary of my most cumbrous suit, but that it may like you at that opportune time or times, as your wisdome may find, to help that his H. may, by your goodnes, be fully informed of my true faithful mind: and that in the matter of that wicked woman, there never was on my part any other mind than good: nor yet in any other thing else never was there, nor never shal there be, any further fault founden in me, than that I cannot in every thing think the same way, that some other men of more wisdom and deeper learning do. Nor can find in my hart otherwise to say, than as mine awn conscience giveth me: which condition hath never grown in any thing, that ever might touch his gracious plesure, of an obstinate mind, or misaffected appetite; but of a timerous conscience, rising happily for lack of better proceding. And yet not without tender respect unto my most bounden duty towards his most noble Grace. Whose only favour I so much esteem, that I nothing have of mine awne in al this world, except 136
only my soul, but that I wil with better wil forgoe it, than abide of his H. one heavy displesant look.

And thus I make an end of my long tedious process, beseeching the blessed Trinity, for the great goodnes ye shew me, and the great comfort ye do me, both bodily and ghostly to prosper you, and in heaven to reward you. At Chelcith, the vth day of March, by

Your deeply bounden

Tho. More, Kt.

Number XLIX.

Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, to Secretary Crumwel; in answer to orders sent him for preaching the King's supremacy.

Cleopatra, E. 6.

HONORABLE Sir, I certify your good mastership, that I have this day received the Kings most honorable letters, sent unto me from you by my servant: and rejoyce not a little, that it hath pleased his Highnes to write so earnestly unto his Bishops in this so earnest a cause: thinking surely, that God hath used your wisdom to stir up the good Prince hereunto. Wherof I highly thank that Almighty Lord. Praying you also to go on stil from one thing to another, as your wisdome, yea Gods very wisdom in you, exciteth and stirreth you, til the usurped power of that man of Rome be clean abolished and put out of the hearts of the Kings subjects. And I shal with al my diligence apply my self to the accomplishment of this his so godly commandment, by Gods grace.

And forasmuch as I have taken my leave of the King and Queen, and tary for nothing now but only for the instrument called *custodias temporalium*, I eftsoones beseech your mastership to have that in your remembrance, when you shal next repair unto the Court, together with a discharge for taking any oath of the residentiaries of Sarum: which surely they wil exact of me, unles I bring something, either from the King his Highnes, or else from you, his chief Councellor, for to stop their mouths.

And as for sealing new obligations, if it like you to command your servant to send me them to morrow by this bringer, I shal seal them and send them to you without any tarriance, by the grace of God. Who conserve you and prosper you in al godly purposes and enterprises. Mortelack, the iiii. day of June.

Your own to command,
Nic. Shaxton, Bishop of Sarum.

Number L. 137

Robert, Bishop of Chichester, to Secretary Crumwel; upon the same argument.

Cleopatra, E. 6.

AFTER my most hearty recommendations, with like thanks for your manifold kindnesses shewed unto me in times past: Pleaseth it you to be advertised, that upon Sunday, *viz.* the 13th day of this instant month of June, after such smal talent, as God hath lent me, I preached the word of God openly in my cathedral church of Chichester; and also published there the Kings most dreadful commandment concerning (with other things) the uniting of the Supreme Head of the Church of England unto the imperial Crown of this realm; and also the abolishing and secluding out of this realm the inormities and abuses of the Bp. of Romes authority usurped within the same. And likewise have sent forth my Suffragan to preach and publish most speedily the same in the populous townes within my dioces. And further have proceded, that by this day at the furthest, there is neither Abbot, Prior, Dean, Archdeacon, Provost, Parson, Vicar, nor Curate within my dioces, but they have commandment to publish the same in their churches every Sunday and solemne feast accordingly. And, as much as in me is, I shal see and cause them to continue in doing of their duty in this behalf. Most heartily desiring you to move the K. Highnes, that it may please his Grace, considering my age and impotency, that the further doing of these premisses by other sufficient persons may be sufficient for my discharge in this behalf. And if it shal please you to particularly advertise me of the Kings plesure herein, ye shal bind me to do you any plesure, that lyeth in my little power. And thus fare ye most heartily wel. From Selsey xxviii° June.

Your bounden orator,
Robt. Cicest.

Number LI.

John, Bishop of Lincoln, to Mr. Crumwel; of the same matter.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 261. RIGHT worshipful Master Secretary; My duty remembred unto your good mastership, with my humble thanks for al your goodnes towards me, and in al my causes ever. Pleaseth it the same to understand, that I have, according as I am bounden, and as the King his Grace commandment was by his letters, since the receit of the same, set forth, and caused to be declared throughout my dioces, 138 his title, dignity, and style of *Supreme Head in earth*, immediately under God, of the Church of England, and shal so continue. And for as much as the last letter of declaration in English, which your mastership sent unto me last, must go into so many several places within my diocess, that al the Clerks I have are not able to write them in long process of time, I have caused 2000 of the same to be put in print, for the speedy and good setting forward thereof: and have sent unto you a paper of the same. Beseeching you, I may have knowledg of your plesure by this bearer my servant: whether it be your plesure I shal in this forme in print send forth the same or not. And your plesure known, it shal not be long in doing, God willing.

Over this I have in mean time set forth to divers parts in every shire within my diocess the same in writing, as many as al my clarks could in the mean season write, and are doing stil. Thus the Godhead preserve your good mastership. Written at Woburn, this xxv. day Junii.

Your bedisman, and priest,
John Lincoln.

Number LII.

Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, to Mr. Crumwel; concerning his preaching the King's supremacy.

Cleop. E. 6. p. 248. b. AND where now of late I have also received the Kings most honorable letters, sent unto me by Sir Francis Bygot, Kt. containing the Kings Highnes commandment for setting forth of his title of *Supreme Head* of the Church of England, and the abolishment of the authority of the Bp. of Rome; I not only my self, before the receit of the same letters, had don my duty in setting forth his title of Supreme Head, but also caused others to do the same. And so his Grace was prayed for ever since the proclamation of the act therupon made. And eftsones upon the receit of the Kings said letter, I repaired to Duresm, and there preached my self again in great presence, as wel in setting forth the Kings title, as in declaring the usurped authority of the Bp. of Rome, heretofore used in this realm. And so have done, and shal, from time to time, accomplish the Kings commandment in my diocess, God willing.

There were words in the said letter that sore grieved me; that the Kings Highnes should repute, that I should look for a new world, or mutation. If the Kings H. knew my mind, as God doth, sure I am those words had not been put in. For I have been as sore against such usurpations of the Bp. of Rome, as dayly did grow, as any man of my degree in this realme. And that I should now look for the renewing of that thing, which I withstood heretofore, as far as I might, when he flourished most, it is not likely. Surely
I look for no mutation, nor new world, but one; which is 139
the changing of this life transitory to the life eternal in the world to come. Which mutation, whensoever it shal happen, I beseech Almighty Jesus of his infinite mercy, that I may leave the Kings H. in his most prosperous reign many years after my decease, to myche increase of his honour, the wealth of his subjects, and the propagation of his most royal posterity. And thus Almighty Jesus preserve your good mastership to his plesure and yours. From Aukland the xxi. day of July.

Your masterships humble bedeman,
Cuthbert Duresm.

Number LIII.

The King's letter to the Earl of Sussex; to seize such as preached up the Pope's authority in England.

By the King.

HENRY R.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 213.

RIGHT trusty and right wel beloved cousin, we greet you wel. And where it is commen to our knowledg, that sundry persons, as wel Religious, as Secular Priests and Curates, in their parishes and divers places within this our realm, do daily, as much as in them is, set forth and extol the jurisdiction and authority of the Bp. of Rome, otherwise called Pope; sowing their seditious, pestilent, and false doctrin; praying for him in the pulpit, and making him a God, to the great deceit, alluding, and seducing of our subjects, bringing them into errors, seditions, and evil opinions: more preferring the power, lawes, and jurisdiction of the said Bp. of Rome, then the most holy lawes and precepts of Almighty God: we therfore, minding not only to procede for an unity and quietnes to be had and continued among our said subjects, but also greatly coveting and desiring them to be brought to a perfection and knowledg of the mere verity and truth; and no lenger to be seduced nor blinded with any such superstitious and false doctrin of any earthly usurper of Gods laws; wol therfore and command you, that where and whensoever ye shal apperceive, know, or hear tel of any such seditious persons, that in such wise do spread, teach, and preach, or otherwise set forth, any such opinions and pernicious doctrine, to the exaltation of the power of the Bp. of Rome; bringing therby our subjects into error, grudge, and murmuration; that ye indelayedly do apprehend and take them, or cause them to be apprehended and taken, and so committed to ward, there to remain without bayle or mainprize, until upon your advertisement therof unto us, or our Councel, ye shal know our further plesure in that behalf. Yeven under our signet at our manor of Greenwich, the 17th day of April.

Number LIV.

140

The King's letters to the Justices of peace; to further the King's cause of the supremacy.

By the King.

HENRY R.

TRUSTY and right wel beloved, we greet you wel. And wheras heretofore, as ye know, both upon most just and vertuous foundations, grounded upon the laws of Almighty God and holy Scripture, and also by the deliberate advise, consultation, consent, and agreement, as wel of the Bps. and Clergy, as by the nobles and commons temporal of this our realm assembled in our High Court of Parlament, and by authority of the same; the abuses of the Bp. of Rome his authority and jurisdiction, of long time usurped against us, have been not only utterly extirped, abolished, and secluded; but also the same our nobles and commons, both of the Clergy and Temporalty, by another several act, and upon like foundation, for the public weal of this our realm, have united, knit, and annexed to us, and the crown imperiall of this our realm, the title, dignity, and stile of *Supreme Head* in earth, immediatly under God, of the Church of England, as undoubtedly evermore we have been: which thing also the same Bps. and Clergy particularly, in their Convocations, have wholly and intyrely consented, recognized, ratified, confirmed, and approved autentiquely in writing, both by their speciall oaths, profession, and writing under their signes and seals; so utterly renouncing al other oaths, obedience, and jurisdiction, either of the said Bp. of Rome, or of any other Potentate. We late you wit, that perpending and considering the charge and commission in this behalf given unto us by Almighty God, together with the great quietnes, rest, and tranquillity that hereby may ensue to our faithful subjects, both in their consciences, and otherwise to the plesure of Almighty God, in case the said Bps. and Clergy of this our realm should sincerely, truly, and faithfully set forth, declare, and preach unto our said subjects the very true word of God,

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 214.

Novemb. 1534.

and without al maner colour, dissimulation, and hypocrisy, manifest, publish, and declare, the great and innumerable inormities and abuses, which the said Bp. of Rome, as wel in title and stile, as also in authority and jurisdiction, of long time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us, our progenitors, and al other Christian princes; have not only addrest our letters general to al and every the same Bps. straitly charging and commanding them, not only in their proper persons, to declare, teach, and preach unto the people the true, mere, and sincere word of God: and how the said title, stile, and jurisdiction of Supreme Head apperteineth unto us, our crown and dignity royal; and to give like warning, monition, and charge, to al Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Schoolmasters, and al other ecclesiastical persons within their diocesses, to do the semblable in their churches every Sunday and solemn feast; and also in their schooles: and to 141 cause al maner prayers, orizons, rubricks, and canons in mass-books, and al other books used in churches, wherin the said Bp. is named, utterly to be abolished, eradicated, and razed out, in such wise as the said Bp. of Rome, his name and memory, for evermore (except to his contumely and reproch) may be extinct, supprest, and obscured: but also to our Justices of the peace, that they in every place, within the precinct of their commission, do make and cause to be made diligent search, wait, and espyal, whether the said Bps. and Clergy do truly and sincerely, without any maner cloke or dissimulation, execute and accomplish their said charge to them committed in this behalf: and to certify us and our Councel of such of them that should omit or leave undon any part of the premisses; or else in the execution therof should coldly and fainedly use any maner sinister addition, interpretation, or cloke; as more plainly is expressed in our said letters:

Wee, considering the great good and furtherance that ye may do in these matters, in the parties about you, and especially at your being at sizes and sessions, in the declaration of the premisses, have thought it good, necessary, and expedient, to write these our letters unto you; whom we esteem to be of such singular zele and affection towards the glory of Almighty God, and of so faithful and loving hearts towards us, as ye wol, with all your wisdomes, diligences, and labours, accomplish al such things as might be to the preferment and setting forth of Gods word, and the amplification, defence, and maintenance of our said interest, right, title, stile, jurisdiction, and authority appertaining unto us, our dignity, prerogative, and crown imperial of this our realm; wol and desire you, and nevertheles straitly charge and command you, that, laying apart al vain affections, respects, and carnal considerations, and setting before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the right and dignity of your Soveraign Lord, thus sounding to the inestimable unity and commodity, both of your selves, and al other our loving and faithful subjects, ye do not only make diligent search within the precincts of your commission and authority, whether the said Bps. and Clergy do truly and surely, as before, preach, teach, and declare to the people the premisses, according to their duties; but also at your said sitting in assizes and sessions ye do persuade, shew, and declare unto the said people the very tenor, effect, and purpose of the premisses in such wise, as the said Bishops and Clergy may the better, not only do and execute their said duties, but that also the parents and rulers of families may declare, teach, and inform their childer and servants in the specialties of the same, to the utter extirpation of the said Bishop's usurped authority, name, and jurisdiction for ever.

Shewing also and declaring unto the people, at your said sessions, the treasons traitorously committed against us and our laws by the late Bp. of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, Kt. who therby, and by divers secret practices of their malicious mind against us, intended to seminate, engender, and breed among our people and subjects a most mischievous and seditious opinion, not only to their own confusion, but also of divers others, who lately have condignely suffered execution according to their demerits. And in such wise dilating the same, with persuasions to the same

142 our people, as they may be the better riped, established, and satisfied in the truth. And consequently, that al our faithful and true subjects may therby detest and abhor, in their hearts and deeds, the most recreaunt [miscreant] and traiterous abuses and behaviors of the said malicious malefactors, as they be most worthy. And finding any default, negligence, or dissimulation in any maner of person or persons, not doing his duty in this party, yee immediatly advertise us and our Councel of the default, maner, and fashion of the same. Letting you wit, that considering the great moment, weight, and importance of this matter, as wherupon dependeth the unity, rest, and quietnes of this our realm, if ye should, contrary to your duties, and our expectation and trust, neglect, be slack, or omit to do diligently your duty in the true performance and execution of our mind, plesure, and commandment, as before; or would halt and stumble at any part or specialty of the same: be ye assured, that we, like a prince of justice, wol so punish and correct your default and negligence therin, as it shal be an example to al others, how, contrary to their allegiances, oaths, and duties, they do frustrate, deceive, and disobey the just and lawful commandment of their Soveraign Lord, in such things as by the true, hearty, and faithful execution wherof they shal not only prefer the honor and glory of God, now set forth, the majesty and imperial dignity of their Soveraign Lord, but also import and bring an inestimable unity, concord, and tranquillity of the public and common state of this realm: wherunto, both by the laws of God and nature and man, they be utterly obliged and bounden. And therfore faile ye not most effectually, earnestly, and entyrely, to se the premisses done and executed, upon pain of your allegiances, and as ye wol avoid our high indignation and displesure at your uttermost perils. Yeven under our signet at our manor beside Westminster, the xxvth day of June.

Number LV.

Thomas Bedyl, to the King's visitors; when he sent them his emendations of a book for preaching and declaring the King's power.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 256.

IN my right harty wise I commend me to you. And where I have altered some things in the treatise devised for preaching and setting forth of the Kings title of Supreme Head, and of the extinction of the power and jurisdiction of the Bp. of Rome: wherin I have counselled with Master Almoner[a], and have shewed him what I have done; which is much busied at Lambeth, as ye know: I have therfore sent the said alterations unto you: that ye, comparing the book that ye have already with this, may take or leave, as ye shal like or disallow.

In the beginning, where it is written, *They shal preach and declare*, I have altered it through the book thus, *I declare unto you*, or this, *Ye shal understand.* For else, I suppose, many of the Curates be so brute, that they would read or speake every word as it was written, and say of them- 143
selves in the pulpit, *They shal preach and declare:* as a talk runs of a collier that did so in a stage play, &c.

Also, in the beginning be two maners of entring into the matter: one for learned, one other for ignorant.

I have also brought in a good saying or two of Tertullian, that *princes be highest next God.* I have brought in divers histories of the Bible, that Kings commanded the Priests, constituted the Priests and Levites, punished - - - the highest Bp. sometime with death, sometime revenging them, and setting one other in their place. And this I did for certain causes which yee may correct.

I have left out the allegory of the repairing of the [temple] when it was in ruine, because it is not the allegory sense, but the literal sense that must prove any matter sufficiently. And that princes may reform the Clergy doing amiss, it is better proved in that book otherwise.

I have also added something in the end, as ye may soon perceive. And besides this, the book standeth in most places even as it did, saving here and there a word.

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[a] Dr. Fox, after Bp. of Hereford.

I have drawn a title to be set before the book, which ye may emend at your plesure; and further do with this book as it shal like you. I pray you have me in mind at this change, as out of your own I desired you in my last letters. And thus fare ye as wel as I would my self to fare. From London, the 5th day of August. The common sicknes waxeth very busy in London.

By your own
Thomas Bedyl.

Number LVI.

Crumwel's letter to certain monasteries, that feared the King would force them to surrender: assuring them of their continuance, upon their suitable behaviour to their institution. And to apprehend such as should report the contrary.

Cott.Librar. Cleopatra, E. 4.

AFTER my harty commendations. Albeit I doubt not, but having long sithence received the Kings Highnes letters; wherin his Majesty signified unto you, that using your selves like his good and faithful subjects, his Grace would not in anywise interrupt you in your state and kind of living: and that his plesure therefore was, in case any man should declare any thing to the contrary, you should cause him to be apprehended, and kept in sure custody, till further knowledge of his Graces plesure; you would so firmely repose your selves in the tenor of his said letters, as now his words; ne any voluntary surrender made by any governour and company of any religious house sithence that time, shal put you in any doubt or fear of suppression or change
144 of your kind of life and policy. Yet the most excellent wisdom of his Majesty, knowing as wel that on the one side fear may enter upon a contrary apparance, where the ground and original is not known; as on the other side, that in such cases there cannot want some malicious and cankred

hearts, that upon a voluntary and frank surrender would persuade and blow abroad a general and a violent suppression; to the intent you should safely adhere to the sentence of the said letters by his Highnes already addrest unto you, and like good subjects ensue the purport of the same in the apprehension and detention of al such persons that had brought or would instil the contrary: wheras certain governours and companies of few religious houses have lately made free and voluntary surrenders into his Graces hands: hath commanded me for your reposes, quiets, and for the causes specified on his Graces behalf, to advertise you, that unles there had been offertures made by the said houses that have resigned, his Grace would never have received the same: and that his Majesty intendeth not in any wise to trouble you, or to devise for the suppression of any religious house that standeth; except they shal either desire of themselves with one whole consent to resign or forsake the same, or else misuse themselves contrary to their allegiancie. In which case they shal deserve the loss of much more than their houses and possessions; that is, the loss also of their lives.

Wherefore in this you may repose your selves: giving your selves to serve God devoutly, to live like true and faithful subjects to his Majesty, and to provide honestly for the sustentation of your houses, and the relieving of poor people with the hospitality of the same; without consumption and wilful wast and spoil of things, which hath been lately made in many abbies; as tho the governors of them minded only their dissolution: you may be sure that you shal not be impeached by his Majesty: but that his Grace wol be your shield or defence against al other that would minister unto you any injury or displesure. And if any man, of what degree soever he be, shal pronounce any thing to the contrary hereof, fail you not, either to apprehend him, if you shal be able, or, if he be such a personage that you shal not dare to meddle with, to write to his Majesties Highnes their name or names; and report, that he or they, so rude behaving themselves, may be punished for the same, as shal appertain.

Number LVII.

Legh and Ap Rice, to Secretary Crumwel; concerning the inhibitions of Bishops.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 255. AFTER due commendations, please it your mastership to be advertised: That we, supposing that the Bps. would be in hand with you again touching the *inhibitions*, thought good to shew you such reasons, as moved us to cause them to be made after that maner.

First, Wheras the King, tho he were alwayes so indeed, yet but now of late agnized and declared Supreme Head of
145 the Church of England, and could not put that title in real possession and execution, but if he took into his hands once al jurisdiction and power; and, for a season, or at his plesure, exercise the same for the establishment of his subjects, and a perpetual monument:

Also, lest the Bps. if they had alwayes enjoyed this jurisdiction without any interruption, would (as in maner they do already) have supposed and reckoned, they had received the same from elsewhere, than from the Kings Highnes; it seemed to us good, that they should be driven by this means to agnize their author, spring, and fountain; as else they be too ingrate to enjoy it.

If they had any jurisdiction, they must needs have received it, either by the law of God, or by the Bp. of Romes authority, or else by the Kings Grace permission. Which is no sufficient discharge against the statute. If they say, Against [by] the law of God, let them bring forth Scripture. But I think them not so impudent as to say so. If they say, By the Bp. of Romes authority, let them exercise stil, if they think it meet. If they say, By the Kings permission, why be they more discontent, that the King should cal again now to his hands that which came from him to them, than they would have been, if he had now granted it them? And surely they are not able to justify the exercise of their jurisdiction hitherto.

But may fortune they wil say, they have *prescribed* against the King. And truly tho the law of the realm say the contrary, we say that they would have done so indeed, if they had yet stil continued the same without interruption. And therfore to avoyd that they do not so *prescribe*, we thought good at the least way once to interrupt them, and that for the visitation time. Or else their successors might say, that the King had but only the title, and never might nor did put the same in execution. For such hath been their juggling heretofore, as the King and you know wel enough.

Also, if they should exercise this jurisdiction, it must be executed after the canon laws, which, with their author, are profligate out of this realm. Therfore we thought meet, that the jurisdiction should be given (if it please the Kings Highnes so) to them even with the laws, after whose tenor the same should be executed. That then it may appear to al the world, that both the laws and also jurisdiction procede of the Kings Highnes, as the chief spring, head, and fountain.

But yet it should seem, whatsoever they say, that they refer this jurisdiction, as accepted from some else than from the King, if they durst speak it; when they chalenge it as their right, and grudg at these things. Sith no man can suppose, if they reckoned it to have proceded of the King, that any of them would be miscontent, that he should cal that to his hands again, which they never enjoyed but by his permission and tolerance.

If they claim it as their right, let them shew their evidence. If they take it as a benefit of the Kings Hignes, let them sue for it again by supplication. That they and al other may understand him to be the head-power within this realm under God; and that no jurisdiction procedeth within the same, but from him.

And they in the mean, to exercise only necessary things, 146
(if they can shew any,) as the Kings Commissaries, and yours, every man in his diocess: and in no wise to meddle with such things as be voluntary, unto the time above rehearsed.

These things and al other we remit to your high wisdom, discretion, and correction.

Also, we send you two articles to be set in the injunctions of Cambridg, which we had omitted. And the same injunctions, when ye have perused them and corrected, it may please your mastership to cause to be written in parchment, and sealed, and then to be sent unto us. And this the Almighty God have your mastership in his blessed keeping, the 24. Septemb.

Your ever assured
Thomas Legh, D. L.

Your faithful Servant,
John Ap Rice.

Sir, I pray you to remember my bil touching the bulls, if ye think I may do the Kings Grace any service therin, and you any commodity.

Number LVIII.

Some additions to the injunctions for the University of Cambridge, prepared by the King's visitors.

After the Preface, this to be the first article.

ET primum omnium, vos omnes et singuli, fideliter vereque et ex animo observabitis, et ab aliis, quantum in vobis fuerit, sic observari facietis, docebitis et procurabitis, omnia et singula contenta tam in juramento successionis nostræ aliàs per vos præstito, quàm in quodam professione sigillo vestro communi sigillata, et manibus vestris subscripta: statutaque hujus regni pro extirpatione Papatus, et usurpatæ sive prætensæ potestatis Romani Episcopi in hoc regno, proque assertione sive confirmatione authoritatis, jurisdictionis, et prærogativæ nostræ supremæ ecclesiasticæ, et successorum nostrorum, quandocunque edita, sive sancita, edendaque sive sancienda, modis omnibus, quibus melius et efficacius poteritis, adimplebitis et observabitis. Ac juniores et alios vestræ curæ commissos sedulò docebitis et instruetis, ipsos unà vobiscum penitus esse absolutos ab omnia obedientia Episcopo Romano deberi prætensa; regiamque potestatem cæteris omnibus juxta divinum eloquium in terris præcellentiorem esse, et eidem præ aliis omnibus ex divino

præcepto parendum et obediendum esse: nec Rom. Episcopi antehac usurpatam jurisdictionem, sive aucthoritatem quovismodo ex sacris literis fundatam esse; sed partim dolo et astutia ejusdem Rom. Episcopi, ipsiusque pravis et ambitiosis canonibus et decretalibus, ac partim tolerantiâ et permissione principum, succrevisse: et ideò nunc jure optimo et æquissimo ex hoc nostro regno aucthoritate publica sublatam esse.

The second article. 147

Et quia animadvertimus corruptelam præcipuam studiorum omnium fuisse, &c.

At the end of the injunctions, this to be added.

Has leges et injunctiones vobis, charissimi, jam tulimus et proposuimus, reservantes nobis, ac præfato nostro Thomæ Crumwel, visitatori nostri generali, sive ejus in ea parte Surrogato cuicunque, potestatem, quascunque alias injunctiones indicendi; cæteraque pro nostro, sive ejus arbitrio faciendi; quæ nostræ, ipsiusve, prudentiæ et discretioni visum fuerit expedire. Quæ omnia et singula injunctiones ac mandata præscripta, vos omnes et singulos respective; inviolabiliter observare voluimus, præcipimus et mandamus, sub pænâ indignationis nostræ regiæ.

Number LIX.

The Bishop of Durham to Secretary Crumwel; concerning a commission sent him for taking the valuation of livings.

RIGHT honorable, in my humble maner I recommend me unto your mastership, advertising the same; That where the Kings Highnes did direct his most honorable commission and instructions to me and my fellows named therin, for the knowledg of the true valor of spiritual promotions within the bpric. of Durham, according to the act of Parlament last past, for the Kings tenths and first fruites; we, according to our said commission and instructions, have endeavoured our selves, by al means to us possible, to attain to the true knowledg of the said valors. And forasmuch as in Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 248.

these north parts were but three auditors joyned with us of this country, and them of Yorkshire; and the Commissioners of Northumberland, and those of the archdeaconry of Richmond, and the books of Yorkshire, which is large, occupied the said auditors so long, that unto they were dispatched, we could not have them to attend to the making up the books of this country of the bishopric; which now they have done. And albeit we should have been glad to have had Mr. Blithman (who brought unto us the Kings commission, and is one of us, and now is there) to have been here at the sealing up of them, as he was at the taking up of the valors; yet forasmuch as it was shewed me, that your mastership, at the receit of the books of York, marvelled, that ye heard no word from me and my fellows, we thought therfore best (not tarying the coming of Mr. Blithman, being uncertain unto us) to send up the books unto your mastership; which this bearer shal deliver unto the same. Wherin be comprized the true valors, as neer as we can attain, of al spiritual benefices and promotions within the limits of our commission. ——— *And by*
148 *and by he writes*, "that he would follow the Kings commandment, that is, to give no institutions unto any, until "the Kings Highnes were agreed withal for his first fruites. "*And advised Crumwel*, That it were good, that some in "those parts had authority to take the bonds: because "many things might fal that would put the party to as "much charge to ride up to London for them, as the fruites "would amount unto."

Number LX.

Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, to the King; being under his displeasure.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 200. MY duty remembred to your Majesty, with all lowly humility and reverend honor. For as much as letted by disease of body, I cannot personally repair to your Highnes presence; having heard of your Graces Almoner, to my great discomfort, what opinion your Highnes hath conceived of me, I am compelled by these letters to represent me unto the same, lamenting and wailing my chance and fortune, to have lost, beside my deserts, as much reputation in your Graces heart, as your Highnes without my merit hath conferred unto me in estimation of the world. And if I comforted not my self with remembrance of your Graces goodnes, with whom *veritas semper vincit, et sortis tæderet et vitæ.*

I know in my self, and can never forget your Graces benefits, your Highnes notable affection toward me. I know my duty and bond to your Highnes. How much I desire to declare in outward deeds mine inward knowledg, God knoweth, and I trust your H. shal know. But in the mean time for want therof, thus I suffer, and know no remedy but your H. goodnes, to expend what I have done, what I should have done, and what I may do: and not to be miscontent, tho, in correcting the answer made, I beleived so great a number of learned men, affirming it so precisely to be true, that was in the answer alledged concerning Gods law. Especially, considering your H. book against Luther, in mine understanding most plainly approveth it. The book written in your Graces cause, and translated into English, seemeth to allow it. And the Councel of Constance, condemning the articles of Wycklif, manifestly decreeth it. The contrary wherof if your Grace can now prove, yet I, not learned in divinity, ne knowing any part of your Graces proves, am, I trust, without cause of blame in that behalf. When I know that I know not, I shal then speak therafter. It were pity we lived, if so little expressing our love to God in our deeds, we should abuse his name and authority, to your H. displesure, of whom we have received so many benefits. On the other part, if it be Gods authority, to us allotted, tho we cannot use it condignely, yet we cannot give it away. And it is no les danger to receive than to give, as your H. of your high wisdom can consider. I am, for my part, as I am bound, most desirous, not only to do what may be done to your Highnes contentation, but also appliable to learn the truth, what ought to be done. Trusting your Majesty wil 149 finally take in good part, that I think that true, for which I have so good grounds and authorities, until I hear stronger grounds and reasons to the contrary. I shal most gladly confer with any of your Graces Councel in this matter. And in the mean time daily pray to God for knowledg of his truth, and preservation of your Majesty in much felicity: alway most ready and desirous to do as becometh

Your most humble subject,
most bounden Chaplain,
and daily bedeman,
Ste. Winton.

Number LXI.

Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, to Crumwel, Vicar General; upon the said Bishop's inhibiting a monk of Reading to read lectures any more in the monastery: whose cause the said Vicar General had called to himself.

Cott. Librar. Cleopatra, E. 4.

MY duty don unto your good Lordsp. These shal be to advertise the same, that I received your honorable letters, dated the 13th day of March, and obeyed the same as it became me. Albeit that I wel perceived, that the Abbot of Reading, in whose favour yee wrote, or else some other in his behalf, had misinformed you of the cause, why I did inhibit the monk that readeth there. The truth wherof when I have once opened unto you, I nothing doubt yee shal think it reasonable to refer the whole matter again unto me: or else at the least to allow, ratify, and confirm my doing; and to see the said Abbot corrected for his misdoing in despising me, Gods Minister under the King, in my just and right doing.

The truth is this, Dompne Roger London, the reader, that was accused to me of *heresie* by three monks of the same house, namely, by these, D. William Benet, D. William Sutton, and D. Walter Ludlow. The matters were no trifles. The first, The holy Scripture is not absolutely sufficient of it self for a Christen man to live by. *Item*, If any good man can preach the word of God sincerely and truly, both in word and example; yet is he not sufficient to keep a *cure*, unles he have somewhat more: that is to say, he must have the *cases* of conscience. *Item*, The evangelical faith justifieth no man before God, without his own works. *Item*, A man may deserve grace, justification, and a higher place in heaven by his own works.

Upon this accusation I examined him as favourably as I could do, and found him a man of very smal knowledg, and of worse judgment: and finally making onely his reformation in words: and neither faggoting; nor to his utter shame and confusion, any open revocation. After I had at good length taught him the truth touching the premisses, I 150 resolved our communication briefly as I could: namely, in such sort as declared the contrary of his articles to be the plain catholic truth: and took his subscription, and dismist him.

Now by this ye may perceive, my good Lord, how unmeet a man this is to read a lecture in divinity there or elsewhere, til he be of better judgment; yea, and of more insight in Scripture than he is yet like to be. And herefore sued I unto your Lordsp. to have had my man read there. The which thing, if it had come to pass, so should I not have needed to have inhibited the said monk his reading: but I bare with him to say his *creed*, so long as there was hope to have another reader there. But when my expectation was frustrated in that behalf, then was I driven to do that which I was loth to do; and which nevertheles I was bound to do, that is, to inhibit him reading.

And is not the Abbot now worthy to be corrected, which, al this notwithstanding, hath caused the monk contemptuously stil to continue his lecture? Had not I been worthy correction, if I had contemptuously disobeyed your letter lately addressed unto me, having the equivalency of a inhibition? And as yee look to be obeyed of me, as long as yee be the Kings deputy, so, I trow, ought I to be obeyed in my just using of mine authority, of al them over whom the Kings Highness hath set mee. As they disobey both God and the King, that in your just precepts disobey you his deputy; so do they disobey both God and the King, that in my just inhibition disobey me, that am also a Minister under God and the King, in the sort of a Bishop: and how this cause pertaineth to the Kings *injunctions*, my good Lord, in faith I perceive not. I know this, the Kings injunction is to have a lecture in divinity read. But and if the reader readeth not well, as he ought to do, I trow, it longeth to mine office to inhibit him the setting forth of his evil doctrine.

Wherefore if yee advoking this matter into your hands, by that means bear the Abbot in his evil dealing, that he may escape, by that pretence, just correction, see yee thereto, if ye will. But judge, whether that be to exercise your office *in ædificationem, et non in destructionem.* God wil judge of such using of authority, my good Lord; whose judgment no man shal escape. *Et ecce! judex ante januam assistit*, saith S. James. And in like sort S. Peter, *Si tardat*, inquit, *Dominus promissionem, sicut quidam existimant; sed patienter agit propter vos; nolens aliquos perire, sed omnes ad pœnitentiam reverti. Adveniet autem die Domini, sicut fur*, &c.

Where yee wil me, *not to exercise any other extremity* against the said Abbot, &c. Then, it seems, that ye call this that I have don an *extremity*, and wil me not to exercise any other. If this be an extremity, my good Lord, to call him to his answer, in faith I wot not what is justice and equity. If I had, after his answer made, put him to excessive correction, I had then practised extremity. Wherof if yee had then relieved him by your authority, ye had don wel your office and duty; but to take the matter from me by your authority, before I have practised any extremity, is indeed to abuse your authority, and to practise against me an extremity. And yet moreover to calumniate my weldoing, and cal it *extremity*, is much more than this extremity.

151 Is this the assistance, my good Lord, that I shal look for from you, in reforming of proud contemners of authority, against disobedient persons, dispising Gods and the Kings

Ministers; yea, both God and the King, in their Ministers? And that yee construe all this extremity to be practised for the denyal of my request concerning a reader there, have misconstrued my weldoing once again. For as for the refusal of my reader, I set not by it a farthing; so that there be provided a good reader. For I made not my suit unto you in his behalf, as many men do, because I would be rid of my man: I ensure you, Sir, he is to me right dear: yea, and nothing the less, because he was a Priest, and for his mariage degraded. *Quia gaudium est in cœlo super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente, quàm super nonaginta* &c. He is now an honest layman, whatsoever he was, being a Priest. But I made my suit unto you only, to the intent they mought have a good reader, which they had, and yet have, need of.

It is a strange thing, my good Lord, to consider the affections of men. I could not obtain so much of you the last day, as others, by word or writing to know your pleasure, what yee would have me to do with a popish monk late of Abyndon; altho I was most utterly ignorant, what I mought do. But I would have known, whether your pleasure had been to have heard him your self, as you did his Abbot before. And the Abbot of Reading could out of hand get and obtain your letters, to let me in my right proceding toward his just correction. Is this your encouraging of men to do their duty, my good Lord? Although I have given you none occasion in my conscience, why ye should not be my good Lord, yet perceive I right manifestly your grief towards me, not only by your former letters, which ye have divers times sent unto me; (which I water manitimes with salt tears;) but also your misconstruing al my doings, yea, and by speaking your pleasure of me, ful ungodly and uncharitably. But let God alone: you hurt your self more than me. *Quia nemo læditur, nisi a seipso*, saith he. Our Lord have pity upon you, and turn your heart to amendment, when it shal please him. Your displesure may utterly undoe me in this world, I know wel enough; like as your favour hath been occasion heretofore of my great avauncement, without my desire. And if it so come to pass, I hope I shal have in my mind, that *Dominus pauperem facit, et ditat: humiliat, et sublevat:* and Job his sentence; *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit: sicut Domino placet, ita factum est. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.* I trust, I say, the Lord shal give me patience and grace, to take of his hand whatsoever he shal send me: *et faciet cum temptatione proventum*, as Paul saith, *ut possim sustinere.* This I know, *quod non haberes potestatem adversus me ullam, nisi data esset tibi desuper.* This I know, that tho al men on earth, yea, and al the devils in hel, incite and stir you against me, not a hair of my head shal perish without the goodwil of my Father in heaven.

Nevertheless, as I am sure that I have not, so I hope that I shal not, give you any occasion justly to be grieved with me. But and if ye wil, without just occasion given you, exercise your power against me, *et odio habere me gratis*, then let God alone; upon whom I depend, and to whose protection I wholly do commit me.

152 Mine own dear good Lord, for Gods sake, hate not them that love you. Be not grieved with them, that for Christen love admonish you; and even from the bottome of their hearts pray for you. But be despleased with them that flatter you. Remember that it is written, (Eccl. xix.) *Et qui nequiter humiliat se: et interiora ejus plena sunt dolo.* For in their hearts they care not whether yee fleet or sink. Aid them with your authority, which apply themselves to serve God and the King in their calling. Among whom I reckon my self one, and wil give no place therin to the best Bp. in England for my talent, except Canterbury and Worcester. And alas! Sir, what good shal I do with my continual preaching, and earnestly setting forth of the truth, if the residentiaries of Salisbury, to whom ye wrote, that the Kings Grace shal take my doings in evil part touching that cause; or the Maior and citizens of Salisbury, whom ye seem to bear in the usurping against the Kings grants, and their own composition with the Church; or any other of my dioces here, that I am again out of favour with you, and as

they wil judge with the Kings Grace (*cujus indignatio mors est*) through you? Yea, who wil set a straw other by me or my preaching, if authority be away? The which thing your self wel considering, said the last year openly among us al, That we should suffer no minishment of authority, but rather have more than ever we had. But now it appeareth, *quod verba sunt hæc.*

Yee wrote me a sore letter, because I wrote in my letters, that by the grant of King Edward IV. the Maior of Sarum is the *Bishops Maior*, and the citizens the *Bishops citizens*, as wel as the Maior of Reading the Abbots Maior, &c. As tho I had committed a great fault in so writing; and made no mention of the King, our Sovereign Lord, his confirmation. *Which except I had, I would never have written such a word for my head. For what profit should any kings graunts do a man, without confirmation of him that weareth the crown?* Was not this to be grieved without occasion, my good Lord? Yea, was not this to seek a knot in the bulrush, as it is said? And God is my witnes, how little I lift up my self because of such graunts; were not the quietnes and ease of the poor citizens, which be now free of al tollage and pollage, assoon as they come to inhabit them in the city. Where else they should not open a shop window, nor keep none inn, without payment of money. And had not they, I mean the poor, desired me the contrary, I would ere this day have given up al those graunts clearly; rather than through the injust complaints of certain unquiet persons, yee should have been thus sore grieved with me.

And now, Sir, both the graunts, and I also, are at the Kings plesure, even *at a beck*, as it is said; whensoever it shal be thought good unto him, and you of the Council, to have another order.

Now forgive me, Sir, for Christs blessed bloud sake, if through my rudeness I have grieved you in this or any other of my letters; and take al in good part, I hartily beseech you. Construe nothing unchristenly: and become again my good Lord. And then shal rejoyce, that God hath fortunate my writing: which bringeth to effect oft times

very difficile things, I wil not say impossible. If yee take otherwise, and wil stil continue sore against me, I would
153 wish that I were no Bp. but obscure in some angle, to sing to my self, and my muses, as it is said. For little good shal I do in my office, wot I wel, without your assistance, and such as yee be. And if I do no good in it, what should I do with it? As for my self, I lived with much more ease a great deal before I was a Bishop.

And now, what your good plesure shal be, that I do further, concerning the Abbot of Reading and his Monk, the reader, I beseech you, it may please you to signify unto me by your honorable letters; and I shal order me therafter, as it becometh me, obediently, by the grace of God. Who preserve your good Lordship long, with much encrease of honour. From Ramsbury, the xxi. day of March, by the evil hand

Of your Lordships to command,
Nicolas Salesbury.

Number LXII.

Sir Thomas Elyot, to Secretary Crumwel; concerning his sending in seditious books of the Bishop of Rome's authority: according to a proclamation.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 249. MASTER Secretary, In my right humble maner I have me recommended unto you. Sir, albeit it were my duty to await on you, desiring to be perfectly instructed in the effectual understanding of the Kings most gracious plesure, contained in his Graces proclamation concerning seditious books; now, forasmuch as I have been very sick, and yet am not intyre recovered, I am constrained to importune you with these my homely letters. Which considering my necessity and sincere meaning, I trust wil not be fastidious unto you: whom I have alway accounted one of my chosen friends, for the similitude of our studies: which undoubtedly is the most perfect foundation of amity.

Sir, as ye know, I have been ever desirous to read many books, especially concerning humanity and moral philo-

sophy: and therfore of such studies I have a competent number. But concerning h. Scripture I have very few. For in questionists I never delighted. Unsavory glosses and comments I ever abhorred. The boasters and advauncers of the pompous authority of the Bishop of Rome I never esteemed. But after that, by much and serious reading, I had apprehended a judgment or estimation of things, I did anon smel out their corrupt affection, and beheld with scorneful eyes the sundry abusions of their authorities, adorned with a licentious and dissolute form of living. Of the which, as wel in them, as in the universal state of the Clergy, I have oftentimes wished a necessary reformation. Wherof hath happened no little contention betwixt me and such persons as ye have thought that I have especially favoured; even as ye also did for some laudable qualities; which we supposed to be in them. But neither they mought 154
persuade me to approve that, which both my faith and reason condemned, nor I mought dissuade them from the excusing of that, which al the world abhorred. Which obstinacy of both parts relented the great affection betwixt us, and withdrew our familiarity repayd.

As touching such books as be now prohibited, containing the Bp. of Romes authority; some indeed I have, joyned with divers other works in one great volume or two at the most, which I have found leisure to read. Notwithstanding, if it be the Kings plesure and yours, that I shal bring or send them, I wil do it right gladly. As for the warks of John Fisher, I never had any of them to my knowledg, except one little sermon: which about eight or nine years past was translated into Latine by Mr. Pace. And for that cause I bought it, more than for the author or matter. But where it is, I am not sure. For, in good faith, I never read it but once since I bought it. Finally, if your plesure be to have that and the other, forasmuch as my books be in sundry houses of mine own, and far asunder, I heartily pray you, that I may have convenient respite to repair thither after my perfect recovery. And as I would that God should help me, I wil make diligent search; and such as I shal find, savouring any thing against the Kings plesure, I wil put them in readines, either to be brought to you, or to be cut out of the volume, where they be joyned with other, as yee shal advise me, after that I have certified to you the titles of them.

Wherefore, Sir, I heartily beseech you, for the sincere love that I have towards you, to advertise me plainly (ye lacking plesure to write) either by Mr. Petre Vannes, or Mr. Augustine; they writing what your counsel and advise is herein, which to my power I wil follow. And, good Mr. Secretary, consider, that from the time of our first acquaintance, which began of a mutual benevolence, ye never knew in me froward opinion or dissimulation. Perchance natural simplicity, not discretely ordered, mought cause men to suspect I favoured hypocrisy, superstition, and vanity; notwithstanding, if ye mought se my thoughts, as God doth, ye should find a reformer of those things, and not a favourer, if I mought that I would. And that I desire no less, that my Soveraign Lord should prosper and be exalted in honor, than any servant that he hath, as Christ knoweth. Which send to you abundance of his grace, with long life. Written at Cambridg on the vigil of S. Thomas.

Your unfeignedly,
Elyott.

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Number LXIII.

An ambassiate and declaration of K. Henry VIII. to James V. King of Scots; concerning the supremacy, &c. *exciting that King to cast off Popery, and to vindicate his own authority from the encroachments of Rome.*

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 260.

MOST excellent, mighty, and victorious Prince. Pleaseth your Majesty, that by the commandment of my most dread Lord and Soveraign King of England, your Graces most dear uncle, I have in charge under commission certain special matters concerning his Highnes plesure, secretly to be signified unto your Grace. Wherin not only as a natural cousin of your royal consanguinity, but as a most loving father, intirely tendring your worthy honor; no les desirous therof, than regarding his own peculiar prosperity; unfeignedly accounting your Graces advancement his most conformable consolation. In consideration wherof, sith it hath so pleased God of his infinite favor to revele unto his Highnes, as wel by studious endeavor of good letters, as by erudite consultation of famous esteemed Clerks; also by long attempted experience in searching the truth, chiefly in Christs doctrin, (who saith, Joh. xiv. *Ego sum veritas*,) now clearly to perceive the thral captivity under the usurped power of the Bp. of Rome, and his ungodly laws; wherin his Highnes, and other many of his noble progenitors, were most wickedly abused, to their intolerable calamity and exceeding molestation of their subjects, over whom God had yevon them authority and governance to rule; as by al stories of the Old Testament, and information of the New, plainly appeareth:

Which groundly known to his Highnes, wisheth likewise the same to be persuaded unto your Grace. Wherby your honorable renown and royal authority should be much enlarged, with no les felicity of soul, principally to be regarded, than with habundant commodity of riches and unfeigned obeysaunce of faithful subjects, far from the cumbersome calamity of popish miserable molestations. What more intolerable calamity may there be to a Christen prince, than unjustly to be defeated of the righteous jurisdiction within his own realm: to be a king by name, but not in deed? to be a ruler without regiment over his own liege people? What more grievous molestation can chance to true-hearted subjects, than to be severed from the allegiance due to their natural sovereign, their anoynted king, graunted by Gods law, and to become servile slaves to a foraign potentate, usurping to reign over them against the law of God; as by the violent tyranny of the Bp. of Rome hath hitherto many years been practised throughout al regions, to the ruinous desolation of the holy Christentie? What realm is there, but that the Bp. of Rome hath planted therin his kingdome, and established his regiment, after

such a subtil way, that he and his crafty creatures were obeyed of princes, to whom of duty they ought to have been subjects? 1 Petri, ii. *Sive regi tanquam præcellenti,* &c. Of whom al Roman Bps. have presumed to be suc-
156 cessors, but not followers: contrary to his example, *qui non venit ministrari, sed ministrare.*

In al realms the popish practise hath had such confederatie of false forsworn factions and traiterous *titinylls,* untrue to their Sovereign, that nothing was so secret in counsel of any prince, but forthwith it was caried by relation to the Popes ear. And if ought were attempted against his own person, or any crooked creature of his creation, in restraint of their extortionate claimes, (as there was nothing but they claimed to have authority upon,) incontinent they bounced out their thunder bolts and cursing fulminations, with such intolerable force of unmerciful cruelty, that they made the greatest personages of the world to tremble and quake for fear. For by the negligent sufferance of princes through default of knowledg of Gods word, that popish pride was so haught, his authority so preeminent, his power so puissaunt, his strength so mighty, his displesure so dangerous, his tyranny so terrible, that scarce any durst resist; to countervaile, none was able.

Examples of many excellent princes, as John the First and Henry II. of gracious memory, kings of England, here in their life times most cruelly vexed: and after their decease, by forged leasyngs and slanderous impeachments, misreported and falsely belyed, with despiteful dishonour of their excellent progeny. After like fashion the victorious Emperor Lodovicus, enterprising to interrupt the pestilent perversity of Pope John XXII. to what careful confusion was he brought? Moreover the godly and wel disposed Henry III. Emperor of Almayn, how traiterously was he betrayed by Pope Hildebrand, procuring his own son unnaturally to war against his father, to take him prisoner, and finally to depose him of his imperial crown? Furthermore, what Christen heart can refrain from sorrowful sighs and mourning lamentations, to consider how the innocent and harmles Prince Childericus, King of France, was extremely handled of his own servant; Pepyne, bereaved of his kingdom through the instigation of the Bp. of Rome?

And now tho' he hath thus encroached upon princes, being men, [he had been less to blame had that been all;] wheras he hath exalted himself against God, thrusting him out of his room, and settling himself in Gods place, the conscience of Christen people: of whose usurped power, S. Paul prophesying, Thes. ii. calleth him, *The sinful man, the son of perdition: qui est adversarius, et effertur adversus omne quod dicitur Deus, aut numen; adeo ut in templo Dei sedeat.* Doth he not sit in the temple of God by damnable dispensations, by deceivable remissions, by lying miracles, by feigned relicks, by false religion, &c.? And as he hath avoyded God out of the conscience of Christien people; so hath he defeated princes of their jurisdiction, and debarred every common weal from their politic governance, bringing in his lawless canons and detestable decrees, supplanting the divine ordinance of power, given to princely rulers. And the cause why they have been so deceived S. Paul declareth, *eo quod dilectionem veritatis non acceperunt.*

This egally considered of your most prudent, singular, and high politick discretion, as wel by probable experience within your dominions, as by evident example of other Christen regions, where the popish unruly regiment hath
reigned with intolerable usurpations, tyrannously defaceing 157
al power of princes; it may please your gracious benignity to advertise the intyre intent, the loving mind, and unfeigned heart of my Sovereign, your most dear uncle, to be expressed to allure your Graces affection toward the favorable embrasement of Gods word. Wherin his Highnes only rejoycing ardently, desireth to impart the same, his special joy, with your most excellent Grace: which should be greatly the advancement of your state royal, the quietation of your loving subjects, and most highly the plesure of God.

Number LXIV.

The proposals, called the Petitions, of John Frederic, the Duke of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; given to the King's ambassadors, in order to a league.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 296.

IMPRIMIS, That it may please the Kings Majesty to promote the doctrin of the Gospel, as the confession of the Germans at Augstburg, and the apologies therupon do import: unles his Grace woll change or reform any thing according to the word of God.

Item, That his Highnes shal defend, with the confederates, the doctrin of the Gospel, and the ceremonies conformable to the same in the Councel General, if the same shal be just, catholic, and free.

Item, That neither his G. nor the confederates in Germany, without the expres consent of both parties, shal not assent to any councel to be indicted by the Bp. of Rome, whatsoever authority he shal pretend; nor also agree with the people of the said councel. Provided nevertheles, that if it shal appear such a free, just, and Christian councel to be indicted, as the confederates do require in their answer to Paulus Vergerius, the Bp. of Romes Ambassador, that such councel is not to be refused.

Item, That if it should happen, that any councel should be indicted by the Bp. of Rome to certain place, where he, and other princes of his papistical confederation, would procede, if the said councel should be indicted without his Majesty and confederates of Germany their agreement; that they shal earnestly employ themselves to let it to their power.

Item, That in the same case they shal make, and cause protestation to be made, how they dissent to the said councel, and that they intend not to be bound to the decrees of the same.

Item, That they shal obey no manner of decrees, mandates, sentences, bulls, letters, or breves of the said councel, in whatsoever name they shal procede, and they shal refuse the same to be good and lawful; and to their powers cause their Bishops and Preachers so to persuade unto the people.

Item, They desire, that like as his Majesty is associate unto them in the doctrin of God, so his Highnes would take upon him the place of protector and defender of their league.

Item, That neither the Kings Highnes nor the Germans 158 shal defend or maintain the opinion, that the primacy of Rome should be *jure divino;* nor that it should be expedient to the common wealth of Christendome to have the Bp. of Rome above al other, or to have any jurisdiction within the dominions of the said Princes.

Item, That in case it should happen any wars to be moved against the said King, or any of the princes or states of Germany, in the cause of religion, or of any other cause or matter; that neither of both parties shal give any help, succor, or aid, or favor against the other, directly or undirectly, secretly or openly, to the invasor.

Item, That it may please the Kings Majesty, for the defence of the league, and cause of religion, to contribute and put in and under sureties deposit, with the said Princes, 100,000 crownes. The one half wherof the said confederates shal and may use for their defence: and the other half the said confederates shal take of such monies, as they have conferred and deposited to that sum. And if the said confederates shal need to make any long defence, that seeing the princes and confederates be bound to further sums to be by them contributed, besides the danger of their goods and lives for the mutual defence; that it may please the Kings Majesty to contribute 200,000 crownes more. Of the one part wherof the confederates may have the use. And if the war shal happen sooner to be finished, that then the rest shal be reserved *bona fide*, and restored after the time of the confederation to his Majesty.

Item, That if the King woll so do, the said Princes shal promise and give sufficient sureties, that they shal convert no part of the same sum to any other use, than to the defence of the league and cause of the religion, nor of any such money as they do contribute to the same. And that in case the same sum be not so spent, that they restore it to his Majesty; or after the defence they shal restore the rest, that shal not have been spent in that use.

Item, That in the mean time, while the Kings orators shal confer with some of their learned men, the said orators wol advertise the K. Highnes therof, and to know therupon his plesure, to be signified unto the said Duke and Landgrave.

Item, That after his plesure known, the said Princes, in their names, and also in the names of their confederates, shal send some ambassadors, and among them one excellently learned, not only to confer upon the doctrin and ceremonies, &c. but also to treat and conclude with his Highnes, in the name of the confederates.

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Number LXV.

The opinion of Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, concerning the articles presented to the King's Highness by the Princes of Germany.

Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 214.

AS touching the first article. If this article be granted unto, then shal the Kings Highnes be bound to the Church of Germany, and without their consent may not do that the word of God shal permit, unles the common consent doth concur therunto. Wherupon, if this capitulation be lawful, and shal bind, then shal the Bp. of Rome draw it for an argument to his part, that the word of God may be restrained to a common assent. Wherfore a league or bond herein in such termes is, in my judgment, incompatible. For by the word of God, both they may reform their opinions without our assent, and we without theirs, whatsoever league were made to the contrary.

And for the world, in as much as the Kings Highnes, being of the state of a King, and in his realm an Emperor, and Head of the Church of England; and among the Princes of Germany there be onely Dukes and lower degrees; such also as knowledg the Emperor for their Supreme Lord; by reason wherof, the same reasons, wherby we prove by Scripture the Kings Majesty Head of the Church of England, we prove also the Emperor Head of their Churches: how shal they, without the consent of the Head of their Church, (which is the Emperor,) establish with us the agreement upon their religion: or how shal we, without derogating the Kings cause of his prerogative and supremacy, covenant with them in that behalf: whom we know as no heads of their Church, but inferior members, as long as they knowledg a superior in the same Church: that is to say, themselves as subjects to the Emperor? For as we must be ordered by our Head, the Kings Highnes; so wil the Emperor also, that they should be ruled by him according to the word of God. If they here in wil not agree with us, then shal we vary in a great matter. For either they must deny the Emperor their superior, wherin they be very scrupulous, and seem to attribute very much unto him; or else, granting that, they must, according to our opinion, which is true, grant him Head of the Church; and it followeth then, that without him they can establish nothing, but such as he alone, by the word of God, may reforme at al times.

As touching the second, The Kings Highnes might make such a promise unto them as is contained in this article; and therby be bound, so as by the word al were discussed. But on their part I se not how their promise can stand and be sure: because they knowledg a subjection to the Emperor.

To the third article, As concerning the councel to be indicted, as they have answered to the Bp. of Rome: in as much as the Kings Highnes hath nothing ado with the Emperor; I se not how his Grace should agree to any councel to be indicted by the said Emperor. And yet this article
doth import that effect, in that it maketh an acception of 160
such a councel, as should be indicted according to the answer made to Peter Paul, [Vergerius, the Pope's Ambassador.]

As touching the fourth article, The Kings Highnes may accomplish this article on his part. But I see not how they could do any thing again for their part, in létting the councel, for as much as touch them, in case the Emperor would, as Emperor, cal the councel.

To the seventh article, Me seemeth the word *association* soundeth not wel. Ne it were convenient, that the Kings Highnes should have any lower place, than to be chief, principal, and head of the league, and the rest not to be associate, but adherent and dependent therunto, as contrahents. And if any were, the Duke of Saxony to be associate. Whom, for that he is an Elector, the Kings Highnes hath been accustomed to write, *his cousin*, &c.

The rest of the articles, concerning mutual defence and mony, be very good for the said Princes. For they shal be sure of a great Prince to their friend, and therewith a sum of money in hand, wherby they might be percase relieved. But as for a reciproque, I se none to the Kings Highnes for their part again: in as much as they be so far off, and cal themselves the Emperors subjects.

Finally, Where they desire to have al things agreed unto, before they send an ambassador to the K. H. they speak therin wisely for their own commodity. For so shal they stil obtain his grace, that they shal then send unto us, not to learn of us, but to instruct and teach us; not to sue to us, but to direct our Church in such ceremonies, as by their deliberation should be communed of and concluded.

Thus, Master Secretary, according to your letters I write unto you what I think, that is to say, what doubts and scrupulosities I find in this matter. Wherin percase I write somewhat amiss, because I understand not fully how they take the Emperor in Germany, ne what wil be their opinion in him. But if they take him, as I gather by their other writings they do, then our matters by way of league shal be so much the more perplexed with them. I would rather advise the Kings H. to give them mony, wherwith to defend truth, than to enter any league with such men, which, as I fear, cannot be fast bound again, and dwel also so far off. To hear their ambassadors, to commune also with them, to discuss the very truth, were very good: but upon the word of God, to make a new knot, wherof the one end shal be in Germany, shal declare rather a change of a bond of dependence, than a riddance therof. If the Kings H. can induce them wholly and uniformely to agree upon the mere truth, it shal be an honourable deed, beside the secret merit therof. But in case a bond were made, and then any of them should swerve from any piece of the capitulation by force of the Emperor, a grief and displesure should ensue, without any commodity of redressing the same. I write the worst, for that ever needeth remedy: the best needeth no commendation, and the best, I doubt not, shal be followed with you.

One thing I have thought good to put you in remembrance of, that it were wel done, that they were moved there in Germany to agree upon the Kings stile, because of his supremacy, as wel as upon his cause of matrimony; wherin God hath given sentence for the most part by the death of the Dowager[a]. And this cause is now so necessary as the other. For since my coming hither, I have been assayed herein. And one said, he thought they in Germany would 161 not agree therunto, for fear of giving unto the Emperor over much authority over them. Upon which occasion, I made this answer my first reason unto you. The King, our master, hath a special cause, because he is Emperor in himself, and hath no superior. Other Kings, that knowledg an Emperor, had rather suffer any man else, than the Emperor to be head of their Church. This, I doubt not, but by your wisdom you can consider, and the Emperor, which is too great already, they wil in no wise make him greater.

[a] Who deceased in Jan. 1535.

Number LXVI.

The answer of the King's ambassadors, made to the Duke of Saxe and Landgrave of Hesse.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 298.

FIRST, That his Highnes, as wel by his ambassadors, as their letters from Smalkald, doth perceive two things. The one is their gratitude and benevolence towards his Majesty, and that they desire the continuance [of friendship] betwixt their progenitors inviolably observed, to be increased. The other is, not only their great constancy in setting forth of the truth of the Gospel, that was darkned afore, but also that they exhort his Grace to the defence of the same. Which be most acceptable to his Highnes: and thanketh them as wel for his behalf, as also for the behalf of al Christendome: knowledging the great benefit of God, in giving the said Princes such stedfastnes and strength. And that his Majesty willed to be shewed unto them, that their wondrous vertues have so ravished and drawn his mind to their love, that his Highnes feeled a great encrease [enclination] to their amitie, in such wise, that he is determined fully never to pass the occasion without correspondence of love, nor any occasion that he shal think may conduce in any wise to their good minds and godly procedings. And for to declare his mind to the articles of their petition,

The third, fourth, fifth, sixth, eighth, ninth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth articles, do please his Majesty wel enough. And altho there be something in them that his Grace would grant easily to no maner princes, were they never so great; yet nevertheles his Highnes, for his affection towards them, thinketh that they mean nothing else, but the reformation of the Church, which his Majesty for his part desireth much, and desireth to joyn with them in the same.

In these articles his Majesty desireth, that only the third and ninth article be more amply declared: that is to say,

The third article be these words; *Item*, That neither the Kings Highnes, without the assent of the princes and estates confederates, nor they without his Graces assent, shal agree to the indiction of any councel, that the Bp. of Rome that now is, or any other, whatsoever authority he pretend [shal indict.] And that also neither of the said parties shal agree
162 upon the place of a councel to be had, without the agreement of the other, expresly to be given. But that the same be done by the mutual assent of his Grace, the said princes, and estates. Provided nevertheles, that if al they shal perceive a lawful and Christian free council, to be indicted in

some sure and indifferent place, that then neither of both parties shal refuse the said councel.

To the ninth article his Highnes would have added, That neither of both parties shal permit any of their servants or subjects to be infold against the other part, nor to help, directly nor indirectly, such as would invade or enterprize against them.

As to the first, second, seventh, and tenth articles, his Grace answereth.

To the tenth his Majesty saith, That he doubted not, but the said confederates do wel think and know, that his Grace is moved in his mind by no maner private necessity that he or his realm have, nor any private profit, to join with the said confederates in league of defence. For he and his realm is in good peace, and knoweth not that the Bishop of Rome, the Emperor, or any other Prince, picketh any quarrel with him, and much less war. And altho his Grace feared some hostility of them, nevertheles by the death of a woman [*viz.* Q. Katharin] al calumnies be extincted. And to the intent the confederates might know his Graces good affection toward them, and to the reformation of the Church, and abolition of abuses, his Grace signifieth unto them, that he woll in no wise refuse their petition, but willingly contribute for his part an 100,000 crownes for the defence of the league, in case that the confederation betwixt the said confederates and his Grace to be made, shal be brought to any effect. And for other appendences of this article, as touching sufficient sureties; *Item*, That the half of the mony by them contributed should be spent, or ever they touch his Graces mony; *Item*, Concerning the form and maner to deposit and spend the same; *Item*, To make his Highnes privy of the sum that on their behalves shal be contributed, and of the necessity, wherabouts it should be spent; and that al things may be don by common advise and assent, because the same do require long treaty, therfore his Grace referreth the same to his orators, and to such of theirs, as by the 13th article they desire to send. His Grace desireth the said Princes to send them fully instructed, and with sufficient power and authority to treat with his Highnes; not doubting but they shal have reasonable and friendly answer.

To the first, second, and seventh articles, his Majesty hath very acceptable and agreable the honor they have thought to defer on him, as, above al princes, to cal him to be *Protector and Defender of their Religion.* Which is a declaration of the certain benevolence and trust that they have in his Majesty: and altho his Majesty knoweth what envy and danger followeth such title, yet nevertheles his Highnes is so desirous to do them plesure, and to the glory of the Gospel, his Grace is content to accept the same honor, after that betwixt his and their orators agreement shalbe had upon the first and second articles. For it should not be sure nor honorable for his Majesty, before they shalbe with his Grace agreed upon a certain concord of doctrin, to take such a province upon his Highnes. And forasmuch as his Majesty desireth much, that his Bishops and learned men 163 might agree with theirs; but seeing that it cannot be, unles certain things in their confession and apology should, by their familiar conferences, be mitigate; his Grace therfore would their orators, and some excellent learned men with them, should be sent hither, to confer, talk, and common upon the same, according to the thirteenth article.

Now, that his Highnes by the same answers sheweth unto them his good heart, trusting that they would be of correspondence therunto, his Majesty desireth three things of them, of no great cost nor difficulty.

First, That in case any king, prince, or other should invade his Majesty or dominion for the same, or for the cause of the religion, that then they shal furnish him, at their expences, 500 horsemen, armed of al pieces, or ten ships, wel arayed for the war, to serve his Majesty by the space of four whole months by land or by sea. And that it shalbe at his Graces choice to have horsemen or ships. And that such as his Grace shal chuse, shal be sent to him within a month after the requisition therof.

Second, That besides the same, they shal retain, at his Majesties cost and charges, such number of horsemen and footmen, as his Highnes shal require: so that the horsemen pas not the number of 2000, and the footmen the number of 5000. Or for the said footmen twelve ships in good order furnished with men, harness, ordinance, victuals, and other things necessary. And that the Kings Majesty may hire them, and retain at his wages, as long as it shal please his Grace. And that it shalbe his Majesties choise to have the said twelve ships, or the said number of horsemen and footmen. And that such as his Majesty shal chuse may be ready within two months after his requisition.

Third, That the said confederates woll take upon them in all councels hereafter, and every where else, to promote and defend the opinion of the reverend Fathers, Dr. Martin, Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, and Melancthon, in the cause of his Graces mariage.

Number LXVII.

The Council, to Secretary Crumwel; giving orders for the despatching certain persons into Germany and France.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 330.

MASTER Secretary, After our most hearty commendations: Ye shal understand, that having received the letters sent unto you from Sir John Wallop, and shewed the same unto the Kings Majesty, his plesure therupon was, that we should dispatch these our letters incontinently unto you, concerning the accomplishment and doing of these things ensueing.

First, His Graces plesure is, that you shal immediatly upon the receit hereof, dispatch Barnes in post, with Deryk in his company, into Germany; commanding him to use such diligence in his journey, that he may, and it be possible, meet with Melancthon before his arrival in France. And in 164
case he shal so meet with him, not only dissuade his going thither; declaring how extremely the French King doth persecute those that wil not grant unto the Bishop of Romes usurped power and jurisdiction; using in this part al persuasions, reasons, and means that he can devise, to impeach

and let his said journey thither; laying unto him, how much it should be to his shame and reproch to vary and go now from that true opinion wherin he hath so long continued: but also on the other side to persuade him also, that he may [be willing] to convert his said journey hither: shewing him as wel the conformity of his opinion and doctrine here, as the nobility and vertues of the Kings Majesty, with the good entertainment which undoubtedly he shal have here at his Graces hands.

And if percase the said Barnes shal not meet with him before his arrival in France, then the said Barnes, proceding himself further in his journey toward the Princes of Germany, shal, with al diligence, return in post to the K. H. the said Diryk of the certainty of the said Melancthons coming into France, and such other occurrents as he shal then know. And if the said Diryk be not now ready to go with him, the Kings plesure is, ye shal in his sted appoint and send such one other with the said Barnes, as ye shal think meet for that purpose.

And when the said Barnes shal arrive with the said princes of Germany, the Kings plesure is, he shal on his Graces behalf, as wel persuade them to persist and continue in their former good opinion, concerning the denyal of the Bishop of Romes usurped authority, declaring their own honour, reputation, and surety to depend theron. And that they now may better maintain their said just opinion therin than ever they might, having the K. M. one of the most noble and puissant Princes of the world, of like opinion and judgment with them. Who, having proceded therin by great advise, deliberation, consultation, and judgment of the most part of the great and famous Clerks of Christendom, wil in no wise relent, vary, or altre in that behalf; like as the said Barnes may declare and shew unto them by a book made by the Dean of the chappel, [Richard Sampson,] and as many of the Bishops sermons as ye have. Which book ye shal receive herewith; the copy wherof, and of the said sermons, ye must deliver unto the said Barnes at his departure, for his better remembrance and instruction.

To whom also his Graces plesure is, ye shal shew as much of Master Wallops letter, (which we send you also,) as ye shal se drawn and marked with a pen in the margin of the same. As also exhort and move them in any wise to beware how they commit any of their affaires to the order, direction, and determination of the Fr. King; considering he and his Councel be altogether Papist, and addict and bent to the maintenance and conservation of the Bishop of Romes pretended authority.

Furthermore, the Kings plesure is, yee shal upon the receit hereof immediatly cause Mr. Haines and Christopher Mount, in post, to repair into France to Sir John Wallop, in as secret maner as they can, and coming like his friends to visit him, and not as sent by the King. And in case they shal by him, or otherwise, learn and know, that Melancthon is there arrived, then his Grace wol, that the said Haines and Mount shal, in such sort, as they be not much noted, resort unto him, and for the dissuading of his continuance 165
there, or the alteration of his opinion, and the alluring of him hither; to use such reasons and persuasions as be before written, with such other as they can further devise for that purpose. To the which Haines and Mount, the Kings plesure is, ye shal deliver like copies of the same Deans book and the Bishops sermons, to be shewed unto the said Melancthon, or otherwise used, as may be most expedient for *thachyevement* of the Kings purpose in that behalf.

Ye shal also understand, that the Kings plesure is, ye shal writ to Sir John Wallop, and send unto him therwith like copies: willing him, in case he shal have certain knowledg that the articles be true written in these his letters concerning the Fr. Kings sending into Germany, for the continuance of the Bishop of Romes pretended supremacy, to repair with the said copy to the Fr. King: and not only to set the same forth, with such reasons as he can devise in that part, shewing how much it shal be against his honor, both to give himself subject to the said Bp., and to move others to do the semblable; but also to declare unto him, that the Kings H. remembring his old friendly promises concerning the maintenance of his cause, and of his proceedings touching the same, cannot think it a little strange, that the said Fr. King (seeing his Majesty hath in his doings touching the said Bp. of Rome moved neither his nor any princes subjects) wil move and stir the Germans to condescend upon a contrary opinion both to himself and to his Grace in this behalf. And that his Majesty must needs think his amity much touched, in that he should move any state or country to do that thing which is so much against the Kings H. and his own promise: using al the wayes he can, to dissuade him from that dishonorable obedience to the said Bps. see; moving him to encline to the Kings just opinion touching the same.

Finally, The Kings plesure is, ye shal write another letter to the Bp. of Aberden, signifying that the Kings M. taketh it very unkindly, that the King his nephew would now embrace, without his advise or counsel, being his neerest friend and unkle, and now in league and amity with him, the mariage of Monsr. de Vaudons daughter: wherunto he would give none ear at his Graces overture heretofore made of the same. In your said letter imputing a great negligence therin to the said Bp. and others of his masters Councel; seing their master sheweth not, in the doing therof, such amity towards the K. H. as the friendship betwixt them doth require.

And to make an end, his Grace woll in no wise that Barnes and Haynes shal tary for any further instruction of the Bp. of Canterbury, or any other, having his Grace determined to send the same after by Mr. Almoner and Hethe: but that he, Mr. Haynes, and Mount, shal with al possible diligence depart immediatly in post without any lenger tarying, than for this their depeche shal be necessary. So as their abode impeach not the Kings purpose touching the said Melancthon. And thus fare you most heartily wel, from Langley, in much hast, this Monday at 4 of the clock at afternoon.

Your loving friends,
T. Norfolk. George Rochford.

Number LXVIII. 166

Secretary Crumwel's letter to Sir John Wallop, the King's Ambassador in France: directing him in what manner to justify the King in the divorce, and in the execution of some persons denying the supremacy.

To my right loving frynd Sir John Wallop, Knyght, the Kynges Ambassadour resident in the Corte of Fraunce.

AFTER my most harty recommendacions; These shal be to advertise you, that the xviith day of this monthe I receyvid from you a packet of letters; which indelayedly I delyvered unto the Kinges Highnes, and conferred with his Grace theffects both of your letters and al others within the sayd packet, beyng directed as wel to his H. as to me. And after his H. had with me perused the hoole contents throughly of your sayd letters; perceyvyng not only the liklihod of the not repayr into Fraunce of Philip Melancthon, but also your communications had with the Frenche Kings Highnes, upon your demaund made of the Kynges Majesties pensions, with also your discrete answers and replications made in that behalfe, for the which his Majestie givethe unto you condigne thanks: ye shal understand, that his H. commaunded me to make you answer in this wise followyng. MSS. D. G. H. Eq.

First, as touching the Kings money, his H. doubtithe not, but seeing both the Frenche Kyng and also the great maister have promysed you it shal be depeched, ye wil, as the case shal require, not cease to cal upon theym, till it be depeched. And farther consideryng that the said Frenche Kyng, upon your sayd demaunde of the sayd pensions, so sodaynlie fel into communication with you, as wel of his frendship and humanytie shewed to the K. H. alledgyng that he at al tymes hath answered for the K. H. Specially beyng last at Marcellis with Pope Clement, with other thinges as in your sayd letters apperethe; as also concernyng thexecutions lately done here within this realme: the K. H. not a litle marvaylethe therat: and thinkethe it good, that as of your self ye take somme occasion, at convenient tyme and opportunytie, to renovate the sayd communycation, both with the Fr. Kynge, or at the last with the great maister: sayeng unto theym, that wher the sayd Fr. Kyng alledgethe that he hath at all tymes answered for the K. H. in his cause, specially to the sayd Pope Clement at Marcellys, affirmyng his procedynges to be just and upright concernyng the matrymonye, as ye do write, in that albeit the K. H. procedynges in al his affaires within this realme, beyng of suche equite and justnes of themselfe as they be, nedethe not any defence or assistence ayenst Pope Clement, or any other foreyne power, havyng Goddes wordes and lawes onely sufficient to defend hym: yet in that that the sayd Fr. K. hathe (as he sayethe) answered at al tymes on the Kynges part, he hath done nothyng but the part of a 167 brother, in justefyeng and verefyenge the trewthe; and so contynuyng, shal do as apperteynethe to a prynce of honour. Which the K. H. doubtithe not he hath, and wil do, only in respect to the verite and trewthe, besides the amytie betwixt theym both justlie requyryng the same.

And concernyng thexecutions done within this realme, ye shal say to the said Fr. K. that the same were not so mervelous extreme as he alledgethe. For touchyng Maister More and the Bushop of Rochester, with suche others as were executed here, their treasons, conspiracies, and practises, secretly practised as wel within the realme as without, to move and stir dissension, and to sow sedition within the realme, intendyng therby not only the destruction of the Kyng, but also the hole subversion of his Highnes realme, beyng explaned and declared, and so manyfestly proved afore theym, that they could not avoyd nor denye it; and they therof opynly detected, and lawfully convicted, adjudged, and condempned of high treason, by the due order of the lawes of this realme: it shal and may wel appere to al the world, that they havyng such malice roted in their hartes ayenst their Prynce and Soveraigne, and the total destruction of the common weale of this realme, were wel worthy, if they had had a thousand lives, to have suffered ten tymes a more terrible dethe and execution then any of theym did suffer.

And touchynge suche words as the sayd Fr. K. spake unto you, concernyng how Maister More died, and what he saied to his doughter goyng to his judgement, and also what exhortations he shulde give unto the Kynges subjects, to be trew and obedient to his Grace, (assuryng you, that there was no such thyng,) wherof the great maister promysed you a double at length: in that the Kynges pleasure is, that ye shal not onlye procure the sayd double, and send it hither, but also sey unto the sayd Fr. K. that the K. H. cannot otherwise take it but veraye unkyndely, that the sayd Fr. K. or any of his counsayle, at whose hands he hath so moche merited, and to whom he hath mynystered so many great benefits, pleasures, and commodities, shulde so lightlye gyve ear, faith, and credence to any suche vayne brutes and fleing tales: not havyng first knowledge or advertisement from the K. H. here, and his counsayl, of the verite and trewthe: affirmyng it to be the office of a frende, heryng any such tales of so noble a Prynce, rather to have compressed the bruters therof to silence, or at the leest not permytted theym to have divulged the same unto suche tyme as the K. M., beyng so dere a frend, had been advertised therof, and the trewth known, before he shuld so lightly beleve or alledge any such reaporte. Which ingrate and unkynde demeanure of the sayd Fr. K. usid in this behalf, arguethe playnlye not to remayne in his brest such integritie of harte and syncere amytie towards the K. H. and his procedyngs, as his H. alwayes heretofore hath expected and loked for. Which thyng ye may propone and alledge unto the said Fr. K. and the great maistre, or to one of theym, with such modestie and sobrenes, as ye thynk they may perceyve, that the K. H. hath good and just cause in this part sumwhat to take their light credence unkyndlie.

And wheras the sayd Fr. K. sayethe, that touching such lawes as the K. H. hath made, he wil not medle withal; alledgyng it not to be mete, that one prynce shuld desire

168 another to chaunge his lawes, saying, that his be to olde to be chaunged; to that ye shal saye, That suche lawes as the K. H. hath made here, be not made without substantial grounds by great and mature advise, counsayl, and deliberation of the hoole policie of this realme; and are indede no new lawes, but of great antiquitie, and many yeres passed were made and executed within this realme, as now they be renovate and renewed, in respect of the common weale of the same. And it is not a litle to his Highnes marvayll, that the sayd Fr. K. ever wold counsail or advise hym, if yn case hereafter any such like offenders shulde happen to be yn this realme, that he shulde rather bannyshe theym, then in suche wise execute theym: and specially consideryng, that the sayd Fr. K. hymself, in commonyng with you at that tyme, not only confessed thextreme executions, and great bruyllie of late done in his realme, but also that he now entendethe to withdraw the same, and to revoke and cal home agayne such as be out of his realme. The K. H. therfore the more straungely taketh his sayd advise and counsayl; supposyng it to be neyther thoffice of a frend nor of a brother; that he wolde determyn hymself to cal home into his realme agayne his subjects, beyng out of the same, for spekyng agaynst the Busshop of Romes usurped authorite, and counsayl the K. H. to banyshe his traitours into straunge parties; where they myght have good occasion, tyme, place, and opportunyte, to work their feats of treason and conspiracie the better agaynst the K. H. and this his realme. In which part ye shal sumwhat engreve the matter after such sorte, as it may wel appere to the sayd Fr. K. that not only the K. H. myght take those his counsayls and communications both straungely and vnkindly, thinkyng the same not to procede of mere amytie and frendship; but also usyng such polycie and austeritye, in proponyng the same with the sayd Fr. K. and the great maistre, takyng such tyme and opportunytie as may best serve for the same, as they may wel perceyve the K. H. procedyngs here within this realme, both concernyng the sayd executions, and al other thyngs, to be only grounded upon justice and the

equite of his lawes. Which be no new lawes, but auncient lawes, made and established of many yeres passed within this realme, and now renovate and renewed, as is aforesaid, for the better order, weale, and suretye of the same.

And ye may farther saye, that if the Fr. K. and his Counsail wel consider, as they ought to do, that it were moche better to advaunce the punyshment of traytours and rebells for their offences, then to punish such as do speke ayenst the usurped auctoritie of the Bushop of Rome, who dayly goeth about to suppress and subdue kynges and prynces, and their aucthoritie, geven to theym by Goddes word.

Al which matiers the Kynges pleasure is, that ye shal take tyme and occasion, as ye talkyng agayn with the Fr. K. or the great maister may declare your mynd, as before is prescribed unto you: addyng therunto such matier, with such reasons, after your accustomyd dexterite and discretion, as ye shal thynk most expedient, and to serve best for the Kyngs purpose, defence of his procedyngs, and the proffe of the Fr. K's. ingratitude, shewyd in this behalf. Not doubtyng yn your wisdome, good industrie, and discreate circumspection, for thorderyng and wel handlyng of the same accordyngly.

And touchyng Melancthon, consideryng there is no lykelihode of his repaire into Fraunce, as I have wel perceyved by your letters, the K. H. therfore hath appoynted Christofer Mount indelayedly to take his journey where Melancthon is, and, if he can, to prevent Mounsr. de Langye in such wise as the sayd Melancthon his repaire into Fraunce may be stayed, and diverted into England. Not doubtyng but the same shal take effect accordyngly. And as to Maister Haynes, the Kyngs pleasure is, that he shal go to Paris, there to lerne and dissiphre the opynyons of the lerned men, and their inclynations and affections, as wel towards the K. H. procedyngs, as to the Busshop of Rome his usurped power and aucthorite, after such sort as the Kings sayd Highnes hath now writen unto hym by his Graces letters, addressed both unto hym and the sayd Christofer Mount: directyng theym what they shal do yn al thynges commyttyd to theyr 169 charge at this tyme; as I doubt not but they wil put therto theyr devoires for the accomplishement of the Kynges pleasure, as apperteynethe.

And thus makyng an ende, prayeng you to use your discression yn the proponyng of the premysses to the Fr. K. and the great maister, or the one or both of theym: usyng the same as a medecyne, and after such sorte, that, as nere as ye can, it be not moche displeasantly taken: adverteysyng the Kinges H. from tyme to tyme of the successes therof, and of al other occurrants, as the case shal require: requiryng you farther, as ye shal have convenyent tyme, to procure answer of themperors ambassador resident with you, wherof the K. H. wold be advertised with as convenyent spede as ye can: I shal for this tyme byd you most hartily farewel. At Thornebery, the xxiiid day of August.

Your assuryd freend,
Thomas Crumwell.

Number LXIX.

The last Will and Testament of the Princess Katharine Dowager.

Cott.Librar. IN the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, *Amen*. I, Katharine, &c. supply and desire K. Henry VIII. my good Lord, that it may please him of his grace, and in aulmes, and for the service of God, to let me have the goods, which I do hold as wel in gold and silver as other things; and also, the same that is due to me in mony for the time past: to the intent that I may pay my debts, and recompence my servants for the good services they have don unto me. And the same I desire as affectuously as I may, for the necessity wherin I am ready to dy, and to yield my soul unto God.

First, I supply [i. e. *pray*] that my body be buried in a convent of Observant friers. *Item*, That for my soul may
170 be said 500 masses. *Item*, That some personage go to our Lady of Walsingham in pilgrimage; and in going by the way to deal xx nobles. *Item*, I appoint to Maistris

Darel xx*l.* for her mariage. *Item*, I ordain, that the collar of gold, which I brought out of Spain, be to my daughter. *Item*, I ordain to Mestress Blanch c*l.* sterling. *Item*, I ordain to Mestress Margery and Mr. Whyller, to each of them, xl*l.* sterling. *Item*, I ordain to Mrs. Mary, my physicians wife, and to Mrs. Isabel, daughter to Mr. Marguerite, to each of them, xl*l.* sterling. *Item*, I ordain to my physician the years coming wages. *Item*, I ordain to Francisco Philippo al that I owe unto him. And beside that, xl*l.* sterling. *Item*, I ordain to Master John, my apothecary, his wages for the year coming. And beside that, al that is due unto him. *Item*, I ordain, that Mr. Whyller be paid of expences about the making of my gown. And beside that, xx*l.* sterling. *Item*, I give to Philip, to Anthony, and to Bastian, to every of them, xx*l.* sterling. *Item*, I ordain to the little maidens, x*l.* to every of them. *Item*, I ordain that my goldsmith be paid of his wages for the year coming. And besides that, al that is due unto him. *Item*, I ordain, that my lavander be paid of that which is due unto her: and besides that of her wages for the year coming. *Item*, I ordain to Isabel of Vergas xx*l.* sterling.

Item, To my ghostly father, his wages for the year coming.

Item, It may please the King, my good Lord, to cause ornaments for the church to be made of my gownes, which he holdeth; for to serve the convent thereas I shal be buried. And the furrs of the same I give to my daughter.

Taunton,
Downton,
Hendon.

These three places are set at the end of this will by another hand: which perhaps were the names of the lordships belonging to her.

Richard Molend,
William Portman,
Thomas Powlet,
William Peter,
Tho. Lee,
Rafe Sadeler.

These seem to be the administrators appointed by the King for the execution of the Lady Dowager's will.

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Number LXX.

Ryche, the King's Solicitor, to the King; his advice concerning Katharine Princess Dowager's goods and jewels.

IHUS.

Cott. Librar.

PLEASITH your Majesty to be advertised of my poor mind; which is not specified to your Majesty by the other letter sent to your Majesty by me, your Graces humble Solicitor, and your other two most humble servants. Because I thought it not convenient to make them privy therto: most humbly beseeching your Highnes to take my mind in good part: for I mean none other, but to declare to your Majesty the truth: affirming to your Highnes, that I shal be as ready to execute your Graces commaundment, according to my most bounden duty, with as much good wil, heart, and mind, to my little power, as any living creature shal do.

Pleasith your Majesty to consider, that the Lady Dowager was a *sole* woman; having by al lawes a ful authority and capacity to have propriety in goods and cattals: albeit her Grace affirmed, that all was yours; and that she had nothing to give without your Graces licence. Wherin her Grace meant not wel; nor yet according to the truth. And she having such capacity as is aforesaid, your Majesty may not seize her goods and cattals, unless there were other cause so to do than I know. For by the laws of your realm, the Bp. of the dioces in this case shal commit the administration of her Graces goods to the next of her Graces kindred, lawfully begotten, and being denizons: to the intent the debts should be paid, or otherwise disposed of for the wealth of her soul. But whether your Majesty, being *supreme Head* of the Church of your realm, by your laws may commit the administration of the goods of her Grace, dying intestate, I dare not therin speak precisely. The ful and determinate solution of that question I remit to your Majesty, and to others of your Graces Council, to debate and determine. And therfore in this wise to take and seize her Graces goods as your own, is repugnant to your laws; and, as I think, with your Graces favour, rather enforceth her blind opinion while she lived, than otherwise.

But, Sovereign Lord, under your Graces favour, I think you may have, take, and seize the goods and cattals of her by another mean lawfully; which is this: if your Graces pleasure be so, yee may cause a letter to be written to the Bp. of Lincoln, commanding him to grant the administration of al such goods and cattals as lately were the Lady Dowagers, to such as your Highnes shal name. And then to have the goods of them to your Graces use, in recompence of such sums and debts, as your Highnes hath, or shal ley out for her burial, or otherwise. And this, as I think, were the best way, and concurrent with your Graces laws.

Signifying unto your Highnes, that now I have declared my bounden duty unto your Grace, I shal willingly, to the best of my power, execute your commaundment without 172 fear or respect of any man: most humbly beseeching your Majesty, to accept this my poor information according to my meaning; and to pardon me, if any thing or matter be comprized herein contrary to your Graces pleasure.

And that I may be certifyed of your further pleasure: advertising your Majesty, as I think, the plate, or other things comprized in the inventory sent to your Majesty, wil amount to 5000 mark, and rather better. And thus the Holy Trinity preserve your Magnificence with as long life as ever lived man. From Kimbolton, this present xix day of January: by your Graces Most humble servant,

Rychard Ryche.

Number LXXI.

The Lady Brian, governess to the Lady Elizabeth, her letter to the Lord Crumwel, from Hunsdon; for instructions concerning the said lady, after the death of Queen Anne her mother.

Cott. Librar. Otho, C. 10.

MY Lord, after my most bounden duty, I recommend me to your good Lordship: beseeching you to be good Lord to me, &c. My Lord, when your Lordship was last here, it pleased you to say, that I should not mistrust the Kings Grace, nor your Lordship. Which word was more comfort to me than I can write, as God knoweth. And now it boldeth me to shew you my poor mind. My Lord, when my Lady Maries Grace was born, it pleased the Kings Grace to [appoint] me Lady Mistress; and made me a Baroness. And so I have been a [governess] to the children his Grace have had since.

Now it is so, my Lady Elizabeth is put from that degree she was afore: and what degree she is at now, I know not, but by hearsay. Therefore I know not how to order her nor my self; nor none of hers, that I have the rule of; that is, her women and her grooms: beseeching you to be good Lord to my Lady, and to al hers: and that she may have some rayment; [*i. e.* for mourning;] for she hath neither gowne nor kirtell, nor petticoat, nor no maner of linnin, nor foresmocks, nor kerchiefs, nor slieves, nor rayls, nor body-stychets, nor handkerchiefs, nor mofelers, nor begins. All these her Graces mostake, I have driven off, as long as I can, that, be my troth, I cannot drive it no lenger: beseeching you, my Lord, that you wil see, that her Grace may have that is needful for her, as my trust is yee wil do. Beseeching you, my own good Lord, that I may know from you by writing how I shal order my self; and what is the Kings Graces plesure and yours, that I shal do in every thing. And whatsome ever it shal please the Kings Grace or your Lordship to command me at al times, I shal fulfil it to the best of my power.

173 My Lord, Mr. Shelton saith, he is master of this house: what fashion that shal be, I cannot tel. For I have not seen it afore. My Lord, yee be so honourable your self, and every man reporteth your Lordship loveth honour, that I trust your Lordship wil se the house honourably ordered, howsome ever it hath been aforetime. And if it please you, that I may know what your order is, and if it be not performed, I shal certify your Lordship of it. For I fear me, it wil be hardly enough performed. But if the head of - - - knew what honour meaneth, it wil be the better ordered: if not, it wil be hard to bring it to pass.

My Lord, Mr. Shelton would have my Lady Elizabeth to dine and supp every day at the board of estate. Alas! my Lord, it is not meet for a child of her age to keep such rule yet. I promise you, my Lord, I dare not take it upon me to keep her in health, and she keep that rule. For there she shal see divers meats and fruits, and wine: which would be hard for me to restrain her Grace from it. Yee know, my Lord, there is no place of correction there. And she is yet too young to correct greatly. I know wel, and she be there, I shal nother bring her up to the Kings Graces honour, nor hers; nor to her health, nor my poor honesty. Wherfore I shew your Lordship this my desire: beseeching you, my Lord, that my Lady may have a mess of meat to her own lodging, with a good dish or two, that is meet for her Grace to eat of. And the reversion of the mess shal satisfy al her women, a gentleman usher, and a groom. Which been eleven persons on her side. Sure I am, it wil be (in to right little) as great profit to the Kings Grace this way, as the t'other way. For if al this should be set abroad, they must have three or four mess of meat, where this one mess shal suffice them al with bread and drink, according as my Lady Maries Grace had afore: and to be ordered in al things as her Grace was afore.

God knoweth, my Lady hath great pain with her great teeth, and they come very slowly forth: and causeth me to suffer her Grace to have her wil more than I would. I trust to God, and her teeth were well graft, to have her Grace after another fashion than she is yet: so as I trust the King's Grace shal have great comfort in her Grace. For she is as toward a child, and as gentle of conditions, as ever I knew any in my life. Jesu preserve her Grace. As for a day or two at a hey [*i. e.* high] time; or whensome ever it shal please the Kings Grace to have her set abroad, I trust so to endeavour me, that shee shal so do as shal be to the King's honour and hers: and then after to take her ease again.

I think Mr. Shelton wil not be content with this. He may not know it is my desire; but that it is the Kings plesure and yours it should be so. Good my Lord, have my Ladies Grace, and us that be her poor servants, in your remembrance. And your Lordship shal have our harty prayers by the grace of Jesu: who ever preserve your Lordship with long life, and as much honour as your noble hart can desire. From Honsdon with the evil hand of her that is your daily bead-woman,

Marget Bryan.

174 I beseech you, my own good Lord, be not miscontent, that I am so bold to write thus to your Lordship. But I take God to my judge, I do it of true hart, and for my discharge. Beseeching you, accept my good mind.

To the Rt. noble and my singular
good Lord, my L. Privy Seal, be
this delivered.

Number LXXII.

Sir Richard Moryson, to the Lord Crumwel; concerning printing the King's answer to the Pope's calling of a Council at Mantua.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 316.

MY Lord, my most humble duty premised. Wheras your good Lordship appoynted me, both to alter and also shortly to se printed the King's answer touching the Mantuan Councel; now my petition is, that your Lordship woll think the printing of it deferred rather upon good respects, than that I have not encreased the book according to your commandment. For as soon as this answer came forth, one Tubalde, which now is in Saxony, was sent of them to Philip Melancthon. Many were sent into France. I think there be few nations, but the book there hath been seen.

Now, my Lord, if it shal come out as I am bidden, the most part changed, many things left out, (which be both truly spoken, and cannot but do good, being bydden bye,) men of other nations may reckon, that either we be affraid or ashamed to say as we have said. They may think things pas lightly here, that are so little while liked. If the book had gone forth in a private name, yet they might have charged us with inconstancy, which yet leave to day that we yesterday loved. The sentence of a Prince, the answer of an whole realm, either ought not to be printed, or else, once printed, not to be changed.

The Germans have nothing in their answer, but I am sure it is at the least touched in ours. Many arguments are handled in this, that they leave utterly untouched. Again, if we should say simply even as they say, we might then seem to repeat theirs, and not to write our own. Notwithstanding, I have two or three leaves, that may wel be added, and the book in maner as it was. At the least they shal gather, that we be neither affraid nor ashamed to say, they intend no good faith that intend guile; no setting up of truth that go about to keep down Gods word. And for the place of the papacy given by our consent over us, and taken away by our consent, I have thus changed.

“ In time past, we being deceived by false pretence of
“ Scripture, by whose authority you claimed your preroga-
“ tive and jurisdiction upon al men, did acknowledg your
“ primacy; and following the consent, or rather error of 175
“ the world, gave you authority upon Kings subjects: now
“ we wil be no lenger deceived: now we justly cal in again
“ that you have injustly extorted of our fathers; and woll
“ that truth make an end of your reigne, which began by
“ error. It is lawful, reason woll, yea, we are commanded
“ to take from you that that no man can give you, but he
“ that is deceived.” And after this followeth as it is in the first. “ We Princes wrot our selves to be familiars to Popes,
“ as long as we thought so: we obeyed them as our su-
“ periors, &c.”

And I trust your Lordship wil take in good part that, that I, according to my most bounden duty, have done *se la vra. bonta*, &c.

Il vro. humil. servitore,
Ricchiar de Morryson.

Number LXXIII.

The protestation of the Clargie of the Lower House within the province of Canterbury: with declaration of fautes and abuses which hertofore hath, and now be within the same, worthy special reformation.

Foxii MSS. IN veray humble and reverent maner, with protestation, that wee, the Clargie of the Lower House within the province of Canterbury, nother in word, dede, or otherwise, directly or indirectly, intending any thinge to speke, attempte, or do, which in any maner of wise may be displeasante unto the King's Highnes, our most dread Soveraigne Lord, and supreme Hedd of the Church of England, but in al thinges, accordyng to the commandement of Godde, to be mooste obedient unto his Grace: to whom accordyngly we submitt our selfes: mynding in no wise, by any colorable fasshion to recognise, prevely or apartely, fend or maynten the same, into this noble realme, or domynions of the same: but that the same Bp. of Rome, with his usurped aucthoritie, utterly for ever with his inventions, rites, abuses, ordenances, and fasshions, to be renownced, forsaken, extingweshed, and abolished: and that we syncerly addict our selfes to Almyghtie God his lawes, and unto our seid Sovereigne Lord the Kynge, our supreme Hede in erthe, and his lawes, statutes, provisions, and ordenances made here within his Graces realme: wee thinke, in our consciences and opinions, thes errors and abuses folloyng, to have ben and now to be, within this realme, causes of dissension, worthy special reformation. That is to wete,

1 That it is comonly preached, thought, and spokyn, to the slaunder of this noble realme, disquietnes of the people, damage of Christen sowles, not without fear of many other inconveniences and perills; that the Sacrament of the Altar 176 is not to be estemed. For divers light and lewd persons be not ashamed, or aferde to say, Why shuld I see the sakeryng of the high masse? Is it any thing else but a pece of brede, or a litle pretie pece rownde Robyn?

Item, That they deny extreme unction to be any sacrament. II.

Item, That priests have no more aucthoritie to minister sacraments than lay men hath. III.

Item, That children ought not to be confirmed of the Busshop afore they cum to age of discretion. IV.

Item, That al ceremonies accustomed in the Church, which are not clerly expressed in Scripture, must be taken away; by cause thei ar menys inventions. V.

Item, That al thos ar Antichrists that do deny ley men the Sacrament of the Aulter *sub utraque specie.* VI.

Item, That al thos that be present at masse, and do not receyve the Sacrament with the priests, are not partakers of the said masse. VII.

Item, That it is preached and tawght, that the Church that is commonly taken for the Church is the old synagoge: and that the Church is the congregation of good men only. VIII.

Item, It is preached agaynst the Leteny, and also said, that it was never mery in England, sythens the Leteny was ordeyned; and *Sancta Maria, Sancta Katerina*, &c. sowngen and said. IX.

Item, That a man hath no free will. X.

Item, That Godd never gave grace nor knowlege of holy Scripture to any great estate, or rich man. And that they in no wise do follow the same. XI.

Item, That al religions and professions, whatsoever thei be, ar clene contrary to Christs religion. XII.

Item, That it is preached and taught, that al things awght to be in comen, and that priests shuld have wiffes. XIII.

Item, That preachers woll in no wise conforme themselfes *ad Ecclesiam Catholicam*, nor admitt or receyve *canonicos et probatos aucthores*. But woll have their awn fantasies and inventions preached and set forward. XIV.

Item, That the images of saincts ar not in any wise to be reverenced: and that it is playne idolatry and abhomynation to set vp any light before any image, or in any place in the church in the tyme of divine service, as long as the sonne giveth light. XV.

XVI. *Item*, That it is idolatry to make any oblation.

XVII. *Item*, That it is lawful to kyrson a child in a tubb of water at home, or in a ditch by the way, as in a founte stone in the church.

XVIII. *Item*, That the water in the founte stone is alonly a thing conjured.

XIX. *Item*, That the hawlowed oyle is not better then the Busshop of Romys grese or butter.

XX. *Item*, That the Priests crownes ar the whores markes of Babylon.

XXI. *Item*, That the stole about the Priests neck is nothing els but the Busshop of Romes rope.

XXII. *Item*, That ymages, as wel of the crucifix, as of other saincts, ar to be put out of the Church, and the reliques of saincts no wise to be reverenced: and that it is agaynst Goddes commandement, that Christen men shuld make curtesy or reverence to the image of our Saviour.

XXIII. *Item*, That it is no synne or offence to ete white metes,
177 eggs, butter, chese, or flesh in the Lent, or other fasting
dayes, commanded in the Church, and receyved by the consent of Christen people.

XXIV. *Item*, That it is as lawful to ete flesh on Good Friday as apon Easter-day, or other tymes in the yere.

XXV. *Item*, That the synner offendyng in the Lent, or other high feasts in the yere, is wurthy no more punyshment, than he that transgressith in any other tyme.

XXVI. *Item*, That confession auricular, absolution, and penaunce, ar nothing necessary nor profitable in the Church of Godd.

XXVII. *Item*, That auricular confession is only invented and ordeyned, to have the secret knowlege of men's harts, and to pull money out of thair purssis.

XXVIII. *Item*, That the gostly fathers cannot give or injoyne any penaunce at all.

XXIX. *Item*, That it is sufficient for a man or a woman to make thair confession to Godd only.

XXX. *Item*, That it is as lawful at al tymes to confesse to a layman as to a priest.

Item, That confession is but whispering in a priests ear, and as wel to be made, a multytude being present, as secret. XXXI.

Item, That it is sufficient that the synner do say, I know my self a synner. XXXII.

Item, That Busshops, Ordinaries, and ecclesiastical judges, have none aucthorite to give any sentence of excommunication, suspension, or censure, ne yet to absolve or loose any man from the same. XXXIII.

Item, That it is not necessary or profitable to have any church or chapell to pray in, or to do any divine service in. XXXIV.

Item, That the church was made for no other purpose, but other to kepe the people from wynde and rayne, other els that the people on Sondayes or haly dayes shuld resort thither to have the word of Godd declared unto them. XXXV.

Item, That buryings in churches, in church yards, be unprofitable and vain. XXXVI.

Item, That the rich and costly ornamentes in the church ar rather high displeasure, than pleasure or honor to Godd. XXXVII.

Item, That it is a pity that ever the mass, matens, even song, or any other divine service, was made or suffered to be redd, said, or song within any church, bycause it is only to the deludyng of the people. XXXVIII.

Item, That saincts ar not to be invocated or honored, and that they understand not, nor know nothing of our petitions, nor can be mediators betwixt us and Godd. XXXIX.

Item, That our Lady was noo better than an other woman, and like a bagg of safferon or peper, whan the spice ys out: and that she can do no more with Christ than another synful woman. XL.

Item, That it is as moche availeable to pray unto saincts, as to whorle a stone agaynst the wynde. XLI.

Item, That the saincts have no moore power to help a man, than a manys wife hath to helpe her husbande. XLII.

Item, That dirige, commendations, mass, suffrages, prayers, almes dedes, or oblations, done for the sowles of them that be departed owt of this world, be but vayne, and of no profit. XLIII. 178

XLIV. *Item*, That the sowles departed goo strayght to heven or to hell.

XLV. *Item*, That ther ys no meane place betwen heven and hell, wherin sowles departed may be afflicted.

XLVI. *Item*, That if ther be a place where thei be punyshed, Godd is not yet borne, nor he that shal redeme the world.

XLVII. *Item*, That prayers, suffrages, fasting, or almes dede, do not help to take away any synne.

XLVIII. *Item*, That ther is noo distinction of synne after this sort, summe to be venial and summe to be mortall.

XLIX. *Item*, That al synnes, after that the synner be ons converted, ar made, by the merit of Christs passion, venial synns, that is to say, synns clene forgyven.

L. *Item*, That Almyghty Godd doth not loke for, nor yet require of a synner, after his conversion from synn, any fasting, almes dede, or any other penaunce, but only that the synner be sory for his synnes, amendyng his life, and synnyng no moore.

LI. *Item*, That hawlowed water, halowed brede, halowed candells, halowed asshes, halowed palme, and such like ceremoneys of the Church, are of none effect, and to be taken as trifills and vanities, to seduce the people.

LII. *Item*, That haly dayes ordeyned and instituted by the Church, are not to be observed and kept in reverence. Inasmoch as al dayes and tymes be lyke. And that servile warkes, as plowghing and carting, may be done in the same without any offence at al, as in other ferial dayes.

LIII. *Item*, That syngyng and saying of mass, matens, or even song, is but roryng, howling, whistelyng, mummyng, conjuryng, and jogelyng. And the playing at the organys a folish vanitie.

LIV. *Item*, That pilgrimage, fasting, almes dede, and such like, ar not to be used. And that a man is not bound to come to the church, but only to the preaching.

LV. *Item*, That it is sufficient ynough to beleve, though a man do no good warkes at all.

LVI. *Item*, Men be not content to preach of certen abuses found in pilgrimages, in fasting, in prayer, in invocation of saincts, in reverencyng of ymages, in almes dedes, but they woll nedes have the thing itself taken away, and not enough the abuses to be reformed.

Item, That by preaching the people hath be brought in opinion and beleve, that nothing is to be beleved, except it can be proved expresly by Scripture. LVII.

Item, That it is preached and taught, that forasmoche as Christ hath sheede his blodde for us, and redemyd us, we nede not to do any thing at al, but to beleve and repent, if we have offended. LVIII.

Item, That ther is of late a new *Confiteor*, made after this form, *Confiteor Deo cœli et terræ, peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione et opere, mea culpa. Ideo deprecor majestatem tuam, ut tu, Deus, deleas iniquitatem meam, et vos orare pro me.* LIX.

Item, That it is preached, that bycause auricular confession hath brought furth innumerable vices, it is clerly to be taken away. LX.

Item, That the Canon of the Mass is the comment of summe folish, unlerned priest: and that the names of the 179
saincts ther expressid ar not to be rehersid. LXI.

Item, That water runnyng in the chanell or common ryver, is of as grete vertue as the halow water. LXII.

Item, That halowed water is but jogelled water. LXIII.

Item, That the holy water is moore savorer to make sawce with than the other, bycause it is mixed with salt: which also is a very good medicen for an horse with a gald back; yea, if ther be put an onyon therunto, it is a good sawce for a gygget of motton. LXIV.

Item, That no humayn constitutions or lawes do bynd any Christen man, but such as be in the Gospel, Pauls Epistells, or in the New Testament. And that a man may breke them without any offence at all. LXV.

Item, That besides seditious preaching, lettyng unitie to be had, there are many sclanderous and erronyous bokes, that have ben made, and suffered to go abrode indifferently. Which bokes were the moore gladly bought bycause of those words, *Cum privilegio.* Which the ignorant people LXVI.

toke to have ben an expresse approbation of the King, where it was not so indede.

LXVII. *Item*, That where hertofore divers bokes have ben examyned by persons appoynted in the Convocation, and the bokes found ful of heresies and erronyous opinions, and so declared, the said bokes are not yet by the Bysshops expresly condempnyd, but suffered to remayn in the hands of the unlerned people. Which ministreth to them matter of argument, and much unquietnes within the realme.

LXVIII. *Item*, That apostates, abjured persons, and of notable yll conversation and infamed, and without licence of the Kings Grace, or the Ordinary, have taken upon them to preach sclanderously.

Number LXXIV.

The opinion of the Clergy of the north parts in Convocation, upon ten articles sent to them.

Cleopatra, E. 5.

TO the first article we think, that preaching against purgatory, worshipping of saints, pilgrimage, images, and al books set forth against the same, or sacraments or sacramentals of the Church, be worthy to be reproved and condemned by Convocation; and the pain to be executed that is devised for the doers to the contrary. And process to be made hereafter in heresie, as was in the dayes of K. Henry IV. And the new statutes, wherby heresies now lately have been greatly nourished, to be annulled and abrogated. And that the holydayes may be observed according to the lawes and laudable customes. And that the bidding of beadys and preaching may be preserved, as hath been used by old custome.

To the second, we think the Kings Highnes, ne any temporal man, may not be supreme Head of the Church by the
180 lawes of God, to have or exercise any jurisdiction or power spiritual in the same. And al acts of Parlament made to the contrary to be revoked.

To the third we say, we be not sufficiently instructed in the fact, ne in the process therin made: but we refer it to the determination of the Church, to whom it is upheld.

To the fourth we think, that no clerk ought to be put to death without degradation by the lawes of the Church.

To the fifth we think, that no man ought to be drawn out of sanctuary, but in certain cases expressed in the lawes of the Church.

To the sixth we say, that the Clergy of the north parts hath not granted nor consented to the Parliament, of the tenths or first fruites of the benefices in the Convocation. And also we can make no such personal graunt by the lawes of the Church. And we think, that no temporal man hath authority by the laws of God to claim any such tenths or first fruites of any benefice or spiritual promotion.

To the seventh we think, that lands given to God, the Church, or religious men, may not be taken away, and put to profane uses, by the laws of God.

To the eighth we think, that dispensations upon just *causes* lawfully graunted by the Pope of Rome, to be good, and to be accepted. And pardons have been allowed by general councels, of Lateran and Vienna, and by laws of the Church.

To the ninth we think, that by the law of the Church, general councels, interpretations of approved Doctors, and consent of Christen people, the Pope of Rome hath been taken for the Head of the Church, and Vicar of Christ: and so ought to be taken.

To the tenth we think, that the examination and correction of deadly sin belongeth to the Ministers of the Church, by the laws of the same; which be consonant to God's laws.

Furthermore, we think it convenient, that the laws of the Church may be openly read in Universities, as hath been used heretofore. And that such clerks as be in prison, or fled out of the realm, for withstanding the Kings superiority in the Church, may be set at liberty, and restored without danger. And that such books and works as do entreat of the primacy of the Church of Rome may be freely kept and read, notwithstanding any prohibition to the contrary. And that the articles of *premunire* may be declared by acts of Parlament: to the intent no man may be in danger therof without a prohibition first awarded. And that such *apostates* as be gon from religion, without sufficient and lawful dispensation of the see of Rome, may be compelled to return to their houses. And that al sums of mony, as tenths, first fruites, and other arrerages graunted unto the Kings Highnes by Parlament, or Convocation, and due to be paid before the first day of the next Parlament, may be remitted and forgiven, for the causes and reasons above expressed.

And we the said Clergy say, that for lack of time and instruction in these articles, and want of books, we declare this our opinion for this time: referring our determination in the premisses to the next Convocation.

Also we desire, that the statute commanding the Clergy to exhibit the dispensations graunted by the Pope, before the feast of Michaelmas next coming, may be revoked at the next Parlament.

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Number LXXV.

Articles for the Lady Mary; to answer and subscribe.

MSS. D. G. H. Eq.

FIRST, Whether shee doth recognize and knowledge the Kings Highnes for her soveraign and liege Lord of this imperial crown and royalme of England: and woll and doth submit her self to his Highnes, and to all and singular lawes and statutes of this royalm, as becometh every true and faithful subject of this royalm to do?

Also, Whether shee woll with all her power and qualities, that God hath endued her withall, not onely obey, keep, and observe all and singular lawes and statutes of this royalm; but also set forth, advance, and maintain the same to thuttermost of her power, according to her most bounden duty?

Also, Whether shee woll recognize, accept, take, and repute the Kings Highnes to bee supream Head in erth under Christ of this Church of England, and utterly refuse the

Bishop of Romes pretenced power and jurisdiction, heretofore usurped within this realm, according to the statutes and lawes of this realm made and ordained in that behalf?

Also, Whether shee doth accept, take, and freely think in her heart, without dissimulation, that the marriage celebrated between the Kings Highnes, and the Lady Katharine her mother, was plainly and directly against the lawes of God, and not dispensable by eny humaine power or authorite. And that the divorse and separation therof is justly and truly done, upon a sure truthe and foundation. And relinquish all manner of remedies and meanys, as wel at the Bishop of Romes hand, as elsewhere, that mought by eny colour empeach or lett the said divorce?

Also, Whether she taketh and accepteth her self to bee illegitimate and bastard by reason of the same unlawful marriage; and wil humblie, according to the truth, recognize her self so to bee: and repent her former obstinacy and wilfulnes, and freely and frankly commyt her self to the Kings wil and plesure?

Also, Bee she enquired and examined, for what cause, and by whose motion and means, shee hath continued and remained in her obstinacy so long; and who did embold and animate her therunto, with other circumstances therto appertaining.

Also, What is the cause, that she at this present time, rather than at any other heretofore, doth submit her self, and do other the premisses. And what and who did move her therunto?

Number LXXVI. 182

*A memorial of such articles as were communed and treated of between the King's Highness Counsellors, and Mon*r*. de Tarbes, and Mon*r*. Pomeray, the French Ambassadors; concerning the marriage between the Lady Mary, the King's daughter, and the Duke of Orleans.*

FIRST, Wheras the said Ambassadors on their masters behalf required that the said Lady Mary bee given in mar- MSS. D. G. H. Eq. Aur.

riage to the said Duke, and declared the great and singular desire and affection the King their master had the same should take effect: the said Counsailors answered, that the Kings Highnes their master was for his part no les desirous the same should succeed, than the King his brother was. Especially for that his Highnes trusted, that therby the amitie and friendship between them should bee the more augmented, established, and so derived and propagated to their posterities, to the weal of both their realms.

Second, Wheras the said Ambassadors required, that the Kings Highnes should make and declare the said Lady Mary to bee legitime; so as shee might be preferred in the succession and inheritance of this realm, before all others, the Kings daughters already, or hereafter to bee procreated: the said Counsaylors, on the Kings Highnes their masters behalf, answered, that hee neither wold ne cowld do that injurie and prejudice, &c. *ut in articulo.*

Thirdly, Concerning the traduction of the said Duke of Orleans into the realm of England, there to bee educated and instructed in the tongue and manners of the people there: wheras the said Ambassadors resolutely answered, that the King their master would in no wise consent the said Duke his son shuld bee bound to make his abode and demore here continually: but onely that hee shuld come and tarry here for one month or two; and afterward to return again into France at his plesure and liberty: the said Counsaylors answered, that in that matter they considered specially the profit, honour, and suerty which shuld redound unto the said Duke therby: besides divers other respects: which if the French King himself wold maturely weigh and expend, as they bee worthy, hee shuld wel perceive, that it were more than necessary, that the said Duke shuld bee brought into this realm, and so afterward make his abode here continually.

Notwithstanding, forasmoche as there were many other pacts, conditions, and assurances, to bee treated, concluded, and agreed vpon, between the Kings their masters; without the which the said marriage cowld, ne might honorablie,

and to both their satisfactions, bee accomplished: and for as moche also as the said Ambassadors had no power or commission from their master to treat or conclude vpon the said other articles: the said Counsaylors answered, that being once the said other articles concluded and agreed upon, and such assurances made on either part as shal bee requisite, the Kings Highnes their master, bein never minded to detein him, the said Duke, here as a captive in thraldome or bondage, but to use him as his own son in honour and 183
felicite; and finally, to advance him unto the crown imperial of this his realm, in such case as is before specified; wold not shew himself very difficile, requiring to have the said Duke to abide here continually, but woll hereafter condescend to bee contented upon soche reasonable time for his demore here, as shalbee thought necessary and requisite for the attaining of the favour and benevolence of the people, of the language and lawes of the country, &c.

Number LXXVII.

Roland, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and Lord President of the Marches of Wales, to the Lord Crumwel; upon his letter to the said Bishop, to take care of the Welsh men. With articles sent to him against the Bishop of St. David's, viz. *Dr. Barlow.*

Cleopatra, E. 5.

RIGHT Honorable, and my singular good Lord: After my hearty commendations, it shal be to give the same like thanks for your Lordships most loving letters to me directed, and delivered lately by this bearer. And as for these parties of Wales, my trust is, they be of as good towardnes to do the Kings Grace service, with as good an intent, as any of his subjects living; and, to my knowledg, little among them conceived of the matters in England. For so much their language doth not agree to the advancement therof: I wrate to your Lordship long heretofore, that at Ludlow was no maner of artilery, saving a little harness I have gathered together from good Sir Richard Herbert, who doth the Kings Gr. good service daily, and wil do. And yet, my Lord, the Earl of Worcester, wrot to me to redeliver the same. But I made him an answer therin. I shal most heartily pray you to remember the commission that this council hath so long sued for to your Lordship. For I have begun to repair this castle, and wil further, if I may have the commission; without which this council can do no good service here, as Mr. Englefeld did inform your Lordship, who hath him heartily recommended to the same. The proclamations as yet for the shire grounds be not come: wherby justice cannot be ministred in Wales. And what may ensue by the tract wherof, I doubt. For I am daily called upon from every part at this time, being the time of keeping of their courts.

And I heartily thank your Lordship for Germyn, desiring the same to have him in remembrance: and yet once again for my servant Lewis ferme to Whitney, if it may so be. And also to be good Lord to my cosin Robinson at this my desire.

Also I received these articles here enclosed, from S. Davies. Wherin, and in other such like in that person, if your Lordships plesure were the same to stay for the time,
184 the common people would the better be content. Here is somewhat spoken towards him, that I am sory to hear. My duty is to intimate the same to your Lordship, for that further inconveniences do not ensue. There is also a Freer Austin, Prior of Woodhouse in the Cleeland, which hath not only dissipated the goods of his monastery, but also without any authority changed his vesture, and in this ruffling time Geo. Blount attached him at Baudeley, and so keepeth him, til your Lordships plesure be known. For I have none authority in these matters. If your Lordship would cause a substantial man to be put into that place, it would much edify to the good acceptation of that country: who be as tall men and handsome, as any the Kings Gr. hath, and of the honour of Wigmore. Other newes be none, but al in quietnes and peace here, thanks be to Al-

mighty God: who send your good Lordship a merry new year, to your hearts comfort. From Wigmor Castle, the xv. day of January.

Wee have here, and in other places, a great number of smal fellonies; whom we cannot dispatch, until we know the Kings Graces plesure for shere grounds.

Your Lordships most bounden,
Roland Co. and Litchf.

Articles against Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, and against Tally, a Preacher.

Concio Meneven. facta, 12. *Novembr.* 1536.

Imprimis, He affirmed and said, That whensoever two or three simple persons, as two coblers or weavers, were in company, and elected, in the name of God, there was the true Church of God.

Item, That it is not expedient to man to confess himself, but only to God. For He wil at al times accept and take any penitent man or woman to his mercy, if he cannot expediently have a Priest.

Item, That there is nor was any purgatory, but only a thing invented and imagined by the Bp. of Rome and our Priests, to have trentals and other mundane lucre therby only.

Item, If the Kings Gr. being supreme Head of the Church of England, did chuse, denominate, and elect any lay man, being learned, to be a Bishop, that he so chosen, without mention made of any orders, should be as good a Bp. as he is, or the best in England.

Concio Tallei habita Meneviæ coram Episcopo ibid. ac aliis palam, the xix. of the aforesaid month.

When and where he affirmed, that in time past there was none that did preach or declare the word of God truly: nor the truth was never known till now of late.

Item, That there ought no maner of reverence to be given to any saint or angel in heaven: and in case any were

185 given, the same saint therewith was made an idol; and that the same honor or worship was idolatry, and nothing else.

Item, That if the souls that be departed have any need of our prayers, (if it might do them any good,) yee shal pray that Christ the sooner, at the contemplation of our prayers, may take them to the fruition of his glory.

These articles were exhibited and delivered unto the reverend Father in God, the L. President of the Kings Council in the Marches of Wales, 11th of Jan. the 28th year of the King, by me,

Roger Lewis, Bachelour of Civil Law,
abiding in S. Davids.

Number LXXVIII.

Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, to the Lord Crumwel; concerning a book taken at Newcastle, called The Souls Garden.

Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5.

RIGHT Honorable, In my humble maner I recommend me unto your good Mastership: advertiseing the same, that there is comen to my hands a little book printed in English, called *Ortulus Animæ:* which was brought in by some folkes of the Newcastle, and, as I am informed, there be very many lately brought into the realm, chiefly into London, and into other haven-townes. Which books, if they may be suffered to go abroad, be like to do great harme among the people. For there is in them a manifest declaration against the effect of the act of Parlament lately made, for the establishment of the Kings Highnes succession, as ye shal perceive more plainly in reading the place your self. Which declaration is made in the kalendar of the said book about the end of the month of August, upon the day of the decollation of S. John Baptist, to shew the cause why he was beheaded. When ye find the day, read the gloss, that is set in the midst among the dominical letters al that side, as far as he speaketh of that matter: and your Mastership shal forthwith perceive what harm it may do, if the book may be suffered to go abroad. Wherfore if it be so seen to the Kings

Highnes, to whom it may like you to shew it, best it were that letters were directed to al haven-townes, and other places, where it is thought any such books to be, to cause them to be diligently searched, and to be brought unto the Kings hands; forbiding the said books to be sold. That book that came to my hands I do send your Mastership herewith, and have already written as effectually as I can to the Maior of the Newcastle, that he search out al such as can be found in the Newcastle, and to seize them in the Kings name; and to get knowledge, if he can, who were the bringers in of them. And if the K. H. or at lest your self, would write unto him to do the same, I think it would be done with more diligence. And surely in my 186
mind, good it were that like letters were sent to Hull, and to other havens. The K. H. and his most honourable Council may more plainly perceive, by reading the place aforesaid, what harme may ensue by going abroad of the said books. And thus Almighty Jesus preserve your good Mastership to his pleasure and yours, and have you in his blessed protection. From Stockton, the vii. day of July.

Your humble Bedeman,
Cutb. Duresme.

Number LXXIX.

Instructions for the Lord Privy Seal; being a letter to him concerning the Bishop of Lincoln and his Archdeacon, touching the Bishop's demand for prestations.

WHAT appertaineth to the office of an Archdeacon, and Cleopatra, F. 1.
wherupon his revenues groweth, and what heretofore hath therunto appertained. Procurations, synodals, Peter-pence, pensions, indemnities, fines of testaments, vacations of benefices, installations of Abbots.

Procurations be due for visitation. The Archdeacon is bound yearly to visit al his archdeaconry throughout. Then to enquire of al crimes and misgovernance of the people, as wel the Clergie as the lay fee, by Churchwardens and other: and to reform whatsoever they find otherwise than wel, either committed hainously against the laws of God, or the ordinances of the Prince, for a quiet common weal, dissonant to Gods laws, to mans laws, and politick order of the world: to reform the same, either by godly persuasion and good advise, by combination, or by pains and penalties, according to the humility and humble subjection of the offendor, and repentance of his offence. For this his visitation he hath *procurations.*

Synodals be due for the *sene* kept at Easter by the Archdeacon or his officer, calling together the Parsons, the Vicars, and parish Priests; diligently enquiring, if every of the same do and have done their duties accordingly to the laws of God, laws of the Prince established, and the ordinance of the Church accustomed; and have godly and diligently ministred al sacraments and sacramentals to their parishoners at that Easter then past, and so in the year before. For this kind of visitation *synodals* be due to the Archdeacon. Which the Bishop would now in any wise have: because of a decretal, that saith, *Quod Episcopo debentur synodalia.* And for that text now would the Bishop turn from his Peter-pence, calling them *prestations*, or pensions, and would have them now due for *synodals*, which the Archdeacons have had and enjoy these three, six, yea eight hundred years, without lett, interruption, or contradiction of any Bishop. My synodals be not nineteen pounds
187 by year. And yet must I give to my Official five mark fee yearly, and as much to my Register. And also bear their costs yearly in riding to the *sene*, four or five pounds. So have I not ten pounds clear for my synodals. But put the case, that these synodals were the Bps., yet wherfore should I be bound to gather his synodals? Or why should I give twenty nobles fee to my officers to serve him, and to be his collector? *Dicat Apollo.*

Peter-pence. Al Archdeacons of England gathered Peter-pence, of every fire-house within every parish one peny: which were graunted eight hundred year past by King Hyno, [Ina,] and after confirmed by Inas; then by Offa, Rex Marchiorum, [Merciorum,] by Arnulphus, by Alerudes

[Alured,] and others mo so following; and by King John for his time. After some antick [antique] authors, they were graunted for a yearly preste, or a perpetual yearly subsidy *Episcopo Romano. Præstabantur in subsidium Episcopo Romano*, saith divers authors. Others say, they were given to a school in Rome, to the maintenance of English scholars there, as Fabian and Guido, with others. But now the Archdeacon, after these pence gathered, payd the same in part, or al, to the collector of Rome, saving the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Sarum. These payd the pence gathered to the Bp.; and the Bp. payd to the collector, and had his acquietance by the name of *Peter-pence.* The Archdeacons had their acquittance of the Bp. by the name of *Prestation-mony.* So the Bishop of Lincoln paid, but he gathered none: the Archdeacon gathered and pay'd, not to the collector, but only to the Bp. So finally, seing the Bp. never gathered Peter-pence, and yet payd them to the collector every year; and the Archdeacons gathered them yearly, and payd none to the collector, but only to the Bp., what should the Bp. his demand other be, than for Peter-pence?

To prove that this word *prestation* is very Peter-pence, it is too manifestly declared in the Bp. of Rome his own law, in an epistle decretal sent *Episcopo Cantuar. et Suffraganeis suis;* (the Bp. of Lincoln one of his Suffragans; and perchance it was meant for him that was then Bp. of Lincoln, as he were as nigh scraping as the Bp. that is now at this present tyme;) *textus est in capitulo de Censibus* in the Decretals, *Et quæ de Avaritia. Verba sunt hæc:* "Nè "gravetis parochias et ecclesias vestras propter visitationem "beati Petri, cum feceritis collectam denariorum." Glossator Bernardus, one of the Bp. of Rome his Secretaries, expounds *hoc verbum collectam. Collecta,* inquit, *est præstatio quædam, quam Anglici solvunt Ecclesiæ Romanæ, et debet esse moderata.* Nota. So that prestations is taken for Peter-pence in the Bp. of Rome his own law.

Pensions or *indemnities* be these; when a Church is impropered to an abby or a college, then the Archdeacon for ever lesithe the induction-mony, and in recompence of that he shal have yearly out of the said benefice so impropered, xii. pence, or ii. shillings for a yearly pension, more or less, as it is agreed at the time of the improperation. And this mony is called *pensions* or *indemnities.* And like as the Archdeacon *conservatur indemnis* by this his yearly pension payd in the lieu of the induction; even so *Episcopus conservatur indemnis*, and hath a like pension for his indemnity in the lieu of his institution; which he likewise calleth his *pension.*

188 *Fines*, or *probates* of testaments, be equally divided *inter Episcopum et Archidiaconum*, at this present time, and so hath long continued.

Vacations of benefices. Vacations be now extinct. Wherof the Bp. had two parts, and the Archdeacon the third part. Which was worth to the Archdeacon *communibus annis* vi. vii. or viii. pounds.

Installations of Abbots, Priors, and Prioresses. Of every such installation the Archdeacon had five mark. Which although they be extinct, yet pay I the yearly tenth therof.

Finally, to conclude of the premisses. For Peter-pence he can have nothing; *quia non sunt:* for procurations nothing: for synodals nothing: for fines of testaments he hath half: for vacations nothing: for installations nothing: for my pensions and indemnities nothing. And so I pray you conclude that he have nothing. For al the books that he hath exhibited and shewed to your Lordship, they be of his own register. And al those containing no more, but that the Archdeacon pay'd him yearly *prestations* in time past: and that he had that mony as an annual rent this hundred year. And al that is true; and should yet have had it, if Peter-pence had continued. But now *cessante causa cessat effectus.*

Number LXXX.

Starky to Pole; for his answer to two points relating to the King's cause.

SIR, You wrot before in our Princes cause of your own motion: wherin you showed lovingly the dangers that might of his cause follow. But the matter it self, as it is here by the King sharply judged, you did not almost touch. Wherfore now the King, as I have written, requireth your learned judgment; and that you should leave your prudent and witty policy, til you be required. The points be these, which tho you right wel of your self know, yet I wil put them a little after my mind before your eyes. **Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 364.**

I. *An matrimonium cum relicta fratris, ab eo cognita, sit jure divino licitum.*

In this, and in the rest also, tho the Kings plesure be you should give place to no mans persuasion nor authority, as I am sure you wil not; yet for the love that I bear unto you, and for the desire that I have that you should se the judged truth, I wil note certain places of weight, after mine opinion, in these things to be considered, ever leaving your own judgment free.

And first for the point, consider how this law is rooted in nature: ponder it by this rule, if it seem to you good: al things which bind man to the observation therof: al laws written, put aside convenient for the conservation of the civil politic life, universally convenient to the dignity of the nature of man; al such, I think, is rooted in the law of nature. Apply this rule without affection, and with a right ey examine it in this cause.

And then for the second point, *An liceat dispensare.* 189
Easy, I think, it shal be to find the Popes power extendeth not therto. And tho it were expedient for the worldly policy for to have dispensation, as it was peradventure in the King his cause; yet it is not expedient any one man to have such power, to break such law so rooted in nature. And upon this ground it appears to me further, the Pope should not have power, not only to dispence with any laws so rooted

in nature; but also, that he hath not power, (nor convenient is it that he should have: yea, tho he were made Head of the Church,) to dispense with laws made in general councels, catholic laws, and universal grounds, ordained for the conservation of Christian life in al Christs Church. Tho he hath used the contrary, it is, I think, a misuse, and usurped. By the reason wherof now it is spied, now it doth fal, now it is plucked justly away.

Look also and ponder this, whether ever the whole authority of making, of abrogating, of dispensing with catholic laws, and universal grounds of Christian living, were ever given and translated to the Pope by any law written in general councels. Which were necessary to find, if we should attribute such authority. As to the Emperors, we find *legem regiam, qua potestas senatus et populi erat in principem collata.*

II. The second principal matter, *An superioritas, quam multis in sæculis Romanus Pontifex sibi vindicarit, sit ex jure divino.*

Here you must weigh the places of the Gospel and Scripture. Wherin, I think, you shal find none manifestly proving that. The common places you know how that they are understood. Contrary therto divers and many. As when the disciples of Christ contended for superiority, you know what Christ said. You know how S. Paul confesseth, he knew only Christ for *Head.* Civil and politic heads he confessed many, *sed jure divino nullum.*

Further, look to the beginning of the Church, when the truth therof was better known than it is now. In the Acts of the Apostles you shal find no such thing. And after the Apostles dayes, the four Patriarchs of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Constantinople, of Rome, had among them no superiority.

Look further, how the Greeks fel from the Church Catholic, as we cal now: chiefly, for because the Bps. of Rome would be chief heads. You know what is to be given to the judgment of the Greeks, in the interpretation of the Scripture, better than I do.

The contention between Peter and Paul takes away such superiority as is given to the successor of Peter. Ponder, why more from the Bp. of Antioch than of Rome, such superiority is taken away; seing Peter was Bp. of both.

These certain poynts I now write to you, *non quia præjudicium aliquod afferrent.* The Kings plesure is, you should, without any prejudicial affection taken of any man, upon one part or other, with a sincere mind, and with that light that God hath given you in Scripture and in learning, give your sentence.

And as touching the policy of both the matters, and of bringing them to effect, (which his Grace hath now done,) whether it be wel done or evil, he requireth no judgment of you, as of one that in such things have no great experience 190
as yet. As whether it be convenient, that there should be one Head in the Church, and that to be the Bp. of Rome. Set these aside. And in the case of matrimony, whether the policy he hath used therin be profitable to the realm, or no, leave that aside. Only shew you, whether if the first matrimony were to make, you would approve that then, or no, and the cause why you would not. And thus weigh the thing in it self, as it is in his own nature, and put apart fear of al danger, hope of al good, which should succede, and hangeth upon worldly policy: and so clearly, without affection either of King or Queen, briefly give your sentence.

And this you shal first honor God and truth; and, second also, satisfy the King: which said to me these words, That *he would rather you were buried there, than you should, for any worldly promotion and profit to your self, dissemble with him in these great and weighty causes.*

This you have my mind, and the Kings plesure withal. And if case be, that you reach to the judged truth, you need not to fear, after my mind, that men should lay to you lightnes of mind and changing of sentence. For, as far as I can conjecture, you did offer me nothing in the cause, but only put before his eyes the dangers that hanged upon worldly policy. If I remember, this you did. I cannot wel tel. For I never se nor read your book but once, as you know wel. At which time it seemed to me you wrot so profitably, that it put me into a fear of dangers too. But, I trust, the goodness of God, and providence of our most wise Prince, shal avert and turn al such calamities, by mans conjecture foreseen, from this our country.

Direct your knowledge, if you se need, by Master Gaspero, the Bp. of Chete, with other such men of high learning and judgment.

Number LXXXI.

Starky to Pole; expostulating with him for his book against the King.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 373. MUCH I have mervailed, Master Pole, al this year past, both of your seldom and short writing to me; considering the continual diligence used upon my behalf ever towards you. And tho of late at the first coming of your servant, when he brought your book, I judge, that you peradventure wrot not, because you were so occupied in the first setting out of your matter, in writing to the Kings Highnes, wherin you had been before time somewhat slack; and so had little leisure: yet now at his second return, when you wrot to divers others of your friends, I looked to have had some one word written unto me. For that methought our friendship required. Wherfore then I began plainly with my self to judge your mind without cause alienate, as methought; and most justly I might accuse you of unkindnes, which used toward me such continual silence. For this I have ever reckoned, that diversity of opinion in such things, which pertain not of necessity to mans salvation, should 191 never break love and amity betwixt them which have judgment and discretion; no more than doth dulnes or sharpnes in the sight of the ey: wherin one friend to be angry with another, because he seeth further, or not so far as doth he, is very smal reason. For as the one should cause no anger, so the other should breed no envy. So that tho I varied fro you in the judgment of the matter, yet your silence declared much ingratitude towards me.

And this count I made before I read your book. But after such time as I did read the same, and weighed your judgment therin, I was nothing sory of this your silence, but rather glad that you so used your self towards me. For his letters to read, who hath so little regard of his masters honor, and so little respect of his friends and country, (as in your writings you plainly declared,) I have little plesure. Wherfore though of late I had determined never to write to you again, yet after I had read your book, I was so affected, and with your ingratitude towards your Prince and country so offended, that I could not temper my self, nor satisfy my mind, without some declaration therof, by writing to you, shewed. And so now even as you seemed to me, *illa tua oratione Principem et patriam, tuo quidem judicio, pereuntem, extremis quasi verbis compellare;* so shal I *te insanientem, mea sententia, amicum extrema quasi voce salutare.* For this, I purpose, shal be the last letter that ever I shal hereafter to you write, *donec resipiscas.* Wherin I wil not enter to dispute the ground of the matter, which requireth rather a book than a letter; but only I shal a little open to you the great imprudence and folly, the detestable unkindnes and injury, shewed in your sentence, both toward your Prince and country. By the reason wherof, except you shal take heed and consider the matter in time with better judgment, you shal be utterly cast away your self with this contempt of your country, and this arrogant despising of al the judgments therin. Wherfore, Master Pole, I shal pray you by al such love as I have ever born to you, which I promise you is greater than ever I bare to any natural brother, to hear me a little, and weigh my words indifferently.

And first, Master Pole, how I was affected with reading of your book, I shal a little touch. At such time as your letter was delivered to the King, tho you wrot not to me, I, forgetting not the office of a friend, requested that your book might be committed to the examination of them, which both had learning to judge and to weigh the matter indifferently. The which, I promise you, was done. And to

them I, as your friend, was joyned also. In the reading wherof, altho we loved you al intyrely, yet your corrupt judgment in the matter, and your detestable unkindnes towards your Prince, so offended us al, that manytimes our ears abhorred the hearing. And as for me, I promise, at the first reading I was so amazed and astonied with the matter, that I could not wel judg, I wist not with what spirit it was written withall; and ever methought it should be some dream, or at the least no oration of Master Pole. Whom I ever noted to be the most addict to the honor of the Prince and wealth of his country, that ever yet I knew. Wherfore I obtained your book to over-read my self alone: yea, and after yet with my Lord of Durham, I read it most diligently, observing and noting the whole order and process therof. And when I had read it after this maner, I
192 was more astonied than I was before. For the comparing the head to the end, and considering the whole circumstance of the matter, plainly to say to you ever as I think, therin appeared to me the most frantick judgment that ever I read of any learned man in my life. For herein lyes the sum of your book: because we are slipped from the obedience of Rome, you judg us to be separate from the unity of the Church, and to be no members of the catholic body, but to be worse than Turks and Saracens. Wherfore you rail upon our Prince, to bring him *ad pœnitentiam*, more vehemently than ever did Gregory against Julian Apostata, or any other against such tyrants, as persecuted Christs doctrine. Upon this point you have pretended al that sharpnes of your oration to spring of love. Yet be you assured, none are so blinded but to judge it a very foolish love, which bringeth forth against a prince such a bitter, sharp, and slanderous oration.

Wherfore, Master Pole, weigh this cause yet a little, and despise not the consent of your country, and of al the learned men therin, with too much arrogancy. Byld [Ponder] your vehement and frantic oration. But alas! Master Pole, what a blindnes is this in you thus to judg your master upon so light an occasion? For tho we be slipt from the obedience of Rome, denying any superiority to be due therto from the law of God, yet we be not slipt *a fide Romana, nec a Petri cathedra.* We observe and keep the same faith, which from the beginning hath been taught in Rome. The which whosoever keepeth, never slippeth *a sede Petri,* tho he never hear of any higher power or superiority to be given to the Bp. of Rome. You therfore abuse your self mervailously, to judg us to be separate from the unity of the Church, because we have reject this superiority. I mervail that you consider it not, how the very Christian unity stands upon S. Paulys doctrin, in the unity of faith and of Spirit, and in a certain knitting together of our hearts by love and unity: which may rest in al kind of policy. For doubtless this superiority of Rome sprang first of policy, as it is evident by old story. And Constantine was he that gave therto first authority of al - - - power to superiority - - - which by others was confirmed, increased. So, as it began by mans wit and institution, I think it should end by like reason. For in the express wil and word of God it hath no such root and ground, as to you it appeareth, following and cleaving more to the consent of the Church than to the words of Scripture, or to any reason drawn out of the same. Wherin I wonder much at your simplicity, to think that the consent of the Church maketh things necessary to salvation. For hereby you might confirm al the rites and customes of the Church used from the beginning, to be grounds of our faith, and of necessity to be received to our salvation. For by one consent many of them have been approved this thousand years, I think, and more. Wherfore by your ground the alteration of any one of them shal cause separation from the unity of Christs Church. The which to affirm, I trow, be an extreme madnes. And so tho the Bp. of Rome hath been head of al Bishops this 500 years, *consensu totius ferè Ecclesiæ occidentalis;* yet, I suppose, that this consent can no more make him *Caput universalis Ecclesiæ,* than the consent of us in England hath made the Bp. of Canterbury to be the Head and Primate of all other

193 Bishops with us, by Gods law. The which primacy, I think, you judg not to be grounded in Gods word. But even as this primacy, for an order of synods and councels among us, was by man devised; so was the primacy of Rome, by man ordered and invented at such time as a councel general of al Christian nations was first convocate and assembled. Wherfore by this reason I wil as wel confirm the one, as you shal the other.

And as touching places of Scripture, wherby you confirm the primacy, you follow the vulgar train of the latter Doctors, which violently draw them to the setting forth of the see of Rome: forgeting the purpose of the antient Doctors of our religion. The which exalting *sedem Romanam et cathedram Petri*, ever meant therby *fidem, quæ Petrus præ cæteris professus est, et Romæ docuit:* and for because the faith of Christ there took most notable increase, and from thence was derived to the west parts of the world: therfore was thither in al doubts chief recourse, and that see was most praised and preferred above others, as a place of counsil, and not of higher power and authority. This testifieth Jerome, Cyprian, with al the antiquity. But I wil not now further enter to dispute. Howbeit I cannot but mervail, how you could (letting these things fal out of your consideration) suffer your self to be blinded by such simple and slender grounds, neither rooted in Scripture, nor reason deduced of the same. But run out with tragical exclamations against the Prince, as though he were a Turk, because he taketh upon him to be Head of the Church of England. Wherin also you deceive your self by a false ground wonderfully. For in the comparing of the office of a prince and of a bishop together, you appoint the prince to the cure of civil things and worldly alone; leaving Christs doctrine to the bishops only; as tho the prince were no Christen man. You consider not, how the office of a Christian prince is to build al his policy upon Gods word, directing al his actions to the setting forth of his glory; and is a minister of Gods word no less than the bp., and rather more, to say truly. For wheras the bp. hath no further power by the vertue of the Gospel, but only to exhort men to follow the same diligently, the prince may not only exhort, but also compel his subjects, to the order of Christs doctrin, violently.

Wherfore when I read your slanderous and abhominable words against our Prince in this behalf, as tho he had subverted, by this title, al the whole order of Christs law, preferring worldly things above spiritual; I judged you either to be mad or frantick, forgetting to whom you wrot; so to slander your Prince most unkindly; or very ignorant, which could not consider, how that a Christen prince, by his very office and duty, hath not only cure and charge and oversight of things pertaining to the worldly life and civil order, but also of the heavenly doctrin and spiritual policy. For in the joyning of these two lives together, which you seem to separate, stondeth the chief point of true Christian civility. And blinded they be, which judge in Christendome to be *binas quasdam politias:* wherin as bps. reign in one, so do princes in the other. This division deceiveth many one. For in Christs religion there is no such necessary distinction. For albeit that I think it nothing convenient, that a prince should exercise the office of a bp., but leave that to his subjects, which profess themselves therto; nor meet it is that a 194
bp. should exercise the office of a prince, but wholly to be intent to the setting forth of the truth of Gods word: yet I se no such repugnance nor contrariety in this matter by the law of God, but that a bp. might be a prince, and a prince a bishop, as you know it was in the old time before Christs coming. And at the least this I dare boldly affirm, that it is nothing against Gods word, a Christen prince to take upon him, as an head of the common wealth, to oversee his bps., and to procure that they do execute their office truly. The which thing only our Prince, Master Pole, taketh upon him by his new title, the which you so abhor by your folly.

So that al your sharp words used in this matter, contrary to your masters honor, declare in you a marvellous blind, and a corrupt judgment, with wonderful ingratitude towards your Prince and country. Wherof, Master Pole, what sorrow I have conceived, if I should here be about to open unto you, I should, I think, labour in vain, and of you, peradventure, be little believed. Howbeit yet this I wil say, that few there be among al your lovers and friends, which are privy of your judgment, (tho I promise you they al sore lament,) that hath conceived more sorrow than I have. For besides the private bands of love, wherby I have been long above others knit unto your friendship, I have openly, sith I came home, at sundry times so praised your learning and judgment, not only to our Prince, but to many others, which therof were not fully persuaded, that now, the contrary being shewed, my sorrow above others is much encreased; yea, and al such hopes, which I had of your vertues, almost vanished away. The which I assure you, for our friendship, grieveth me sore. For ever as methoughts I saw in you a desire to the ensearching of the truth and verity, so such constant love towards your Prince and country, that I could not but think that these vertues (which I esteemed to be in you) should at the last bring forth some noble fruit to the honor of your Prince, and to the ornament of our country. This hope I had, wherwith, I testify God, I comforted my self as much as I did with few other worldly things.

And this, Master Pole, was not my hope only, but it was common to many other, your lovers and friends, which knew you beside me. Wherfore what sorrow both they and I have taken, by the drowning of this our hope, sith we have perceived, how that by a foolish ground, foolishly of you conceived, you have turned al your learning and eloquence to the dishonoring of your master, slandering of your country, and, which is most of al, to the obscuring of the truth; I shal leave, Master Pole, to your consideration, because my pen serveth me not to express the thing fully. And thus I shal - - - requiring you by that infinite love, which you say you bear towards your Prince and country, to consider the matter with your self a little more groundly. And to cal to remembrance yet once again a little more di-

ligently the tenor of your commission: which was, "that "you should, al worldly respects set aside, and al danger- "ous success, which might succede of the same, ponder the "nature of the thing indifferently;" and then, I doubt not, but that you shal yet see how far wide from the matter you have shapen your oration, which have here right slenderly touched the ground of the matter, filled your book with la- 195
mentable complaints of false grounds conceived: as, that we be slipped from the unity of the Church; that we be heretics; that we unworthily put to death the best men in the realm. Upon these grounds moved, you make marvellous digressions, ful of venomous words and great vehemency; as tho they were as true as any word in the Gospel: the which be al false; and by light credit of you believed.

For nother we be slipt from Christian unity, which depend upon our Head Christ, coupled together by perfect love, faith, and charity: nother we be infected, as you think, with heresy, which stond in al the grounds of Scripture stedfastly: nother yet have unworthily put to death the best men of our realm, tho More, Rochester, and Raynolds, with divers others, suffered by their own folly. Which dyed nother for their vertues, nor for the profession of any such matter, which pertaineth to Christ's glory; but only for the superstitious defence of that thing, for the which, I think, hereafter never wise man wil do; and I would to God they also might have been induced, as the goodnes of the Prince greatly desired, to leave their foolish and superstitious obstinacy. Whose example, as I perceive, hath also blinded you as much, peradventure, as any one thing besides, and caused you to fal into this abhominable rayling against your Princes actys ingratfully.

But, Master Pole, lift your eyes a little higher in this matter, and regard the order of the primitive Church at the beginning. Wherin you shal find, contrary to these mens judgments, that Rome never had the primacy of the universal Church through the world, but from Constantines time only it hath beginning. And have not your eyes so much fixed to the trade of the Church in these latter dayes,

and to the sentence of these latter men, which have drawn Scripture therto violently. That which if you had done, and prudently compared the one time with the other, I think you could never have run so headlong to this extreme sentence, and never should have stond so stiff in the defence of that which in Gods word hath no sure ground. But you have shewed your self, Master Pole, to be led *præjudiciis;* and by the example of them, which were in the world in great reputation, you have suffered your heart to be over-run with affection. The which is plain by the vehement lamentation which you make of the death of those men, which foolishly did chuse rather to dy than to live in their country delivered from the Popes cloaked tyranny. Methought, when I read that part of your oration, I saw your heart so opprest with sorrow, that you considered not wel what you said. Yea, al the process of your oration, methought you forgot to whom you spake and directed your oration; tho you oftimes called him *Prince,* you remembred not, I think, how that he was your Soveraign Lord and Master, which hath confirmed to you such incomparable benefits, as hitherto don to no other of his subjects. You never considered, how that he is a Prince of high judgment and great experience. You never set before your eyes his princely stomac and noble courage. For if you had, I can never think that ever you could have showed such detestable ingratitude, nor have ever been so blinded with affection, as to think that by your words and sudden
196 oration, you might induce such a King to abrogate al such actys and deeds, before don with mature counsil and deliberation, with such railing, and declaring so corrupt a judgment by affection, to move a Prince from his stabled purpose. Then you were plain mad and frantic. And especially now at this time, when al things were settled in quietness: that woman being taken away by the providence of God, by whom was feared of wise men much trouble and adversity. For at such time as your book was brought to the King, I promise you al men rejoyced in the present state, putting the Pope in utter oblivion. There was of him

here no regard or mention, but al things brought to good order with conformitie.

Alas! Master Pole, what lack of learning and prudence was this, so corruptly to judg the matter; without all respect of time and person, so foolishly it to handle? For if you had but considered a little your own person, how much you are above al others bounden to our Prince for your education, you could never have distorned your wit and eloquence, unworthily to spot your honor and name, and therby to shame your self: and judging a Princes act so unadvisedly without al learning, honest respect, and prudence. And I wot not, whether you did this, moved with a certain indignation, because you have been before time of some men much noted to have over much respect of worldly circumstance, and therby to lack the true judgment of things: and so for the avoiding hereof, for you never loved to be noted to lack any part of judgment, but of al things you most abhorred that name, you are therfore now run to the contrary, and have no respect of worldly things at al. You seem now neither to regard king, friend, nor country, but, as much as lyeth in you, dishonor them al. Insomuch, that this I think of you plainly, that if you would set out to the world your sentence to the King written, I would judge you to be one of the most extreme enemies, both to the Kings honor, and to al your friends, and to our whole nation, that ever was bred in our country. But I shal never think you to have so little prudence and honesty, nor never to be so mad and frantic, as to do any such detestable deed. But this I judge of the writing of your book, that you being fully persuaded in the contrary opinion, thought frankly to open your judgment therin, and put it to the Kings secret consideration. But that you wil common abroad such a venomous book, so ful of defamation to your Soveraign Lord and Master, so slanderous to his actys established, I can never be persuaded; but rather I think. And if you had seen, how that here *omnia Christi dogmata, et fidei nostræ sacramenta* be observed, and how al old and honest customes and rites of the Church be kept and maintained, and how christianly God is honoured here among us, I am sure you would never have written so slanderous a book.

But persuaded I am, Master Pole, by common fame and false report, your judgment is corrupted. For I know well how we be with you wrongly reported. In so much that at my coming home, if I had found al such things to be true, which before my departure thence I heard there openly commoned, I would rather have fled from my country, than have tarried here among such corrupt opinions and heresies. But after I had been here a while, and observed the fashions here of living, christianly used, I perceived then the vanity
197 of fame, wherby for the most part al things are misreported. And this at sundry times I remember I wrote to you most diligently, to the intent I would have had you delivered from such suspicion; certifying you, that here among us was little alteration, beside the casting down of this primacy; to which every honest and Christian mind may, as I think, wel be obedient, without any offence of Gods law, or injury to his word.

Wherfore, Master Pole, I shal yet once again require you, by the love that you have placed in your heart to your masters honor and natural country, to weigh this matter a little better, and cleave not so stifly to your own opinion: suffer not your self to be blinded with such extreme folly, to judg it necessary to mankind to have but one Head in earth, as there is but one God in heaven. The which, by your opinion, must needs follow, if al men were christned, as we believe once they shal be. At the which time, I think, there shal no man be so mad as to think, that from one Bp. of Rome al spiritual power shal be derived to the rest of the world; and that of his judgment al mankind shal depend, as upon the only Vicar of Christ. For tho it hath been long suffered in this west part of the world, as a thing convenient to the conservation of a certain unity; yet to say, that it should be likewise required in the whole world, if it were christned, appeareth to me an extreme folly. The breaking therfore of order is but a politic matter; like as the institution of the same was at the beginning. Wherfore, Master

Pole, blind not your conscience with such simplicity. Suffer not your self to be deceived by a light persuasion, of the which sort your book is ful. For plainly, to say to you even as I think, your arguments in the matter are but vulgar and common, set out with a more fair face and colour of eloquence, than with any deep and sure ground of truth and equity. In so much I wonder manytimes with my self, how you fel into this extreme sentence of the primacy. Wherin I thought you would have considered the matter with some higher judgment, than doth the common sort of men of weak capacity. I never thought you would have so followed the common error of the world, and left the weighing of the nature of the thing with an indifferent ey. But here I find the proverb of the Greeks to be true, Τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἐκάστου, &c. *Every man lightly drawes much of the maners of them and judgments, with whom he is gladly conversant.* The Italian judgments are much bent to defend the honor of their country; which by the primacy of Rome hath been much upholden. By the reason wherof you peradventure have been somewhat more hard to receive the truth of this matter indifferently.

But I trust, Master Pole, hereafter the love of your own country, your bounden duty to your Soveraign Lord and Master, shal so prevail in your stomac, that you, in time retracting your sentence, shal to your great comfort enjoy the same quiet. For sorrowful I shal be to se you persist in any such sentence and folly, wherby you should refuse to come to the presence of your Prince, and perpetually to lack the fruition of your natural friends and country.

And wheras of late I hear the Bp. of Rome hath invited you to consult with him upon a council general, I would advise you as one of your most loving friends, to consider 198
the cause wel, before you apply; and look wel to the office which you owe to your Prince: and suffer not your conscience to be bound with a superstitious knot, conceived by foolish scrupulosity. For if you judge your self more to be bounden to that foreign Bp. than to your natural Soveraign Lord, you shal, of al wise men, I think, be judged to lack

a great part of wit, and more of vertue and honesty. You shal be judged plainly to be blinded with some great affection, and to be an untrue subject unto your master, and an open enemy to your country: which you say you love so intyrely. Consider therfore this matter with your self earnestly. For there hangeth more therupon, than I fear me you conceive. For this one thing I shal say to you, which I pray you fasten in your breast, that if you follow the breves of the Pope to you directed, and busy your self to set forth the sentence, which you have written to the King, blowing up that authority with arrogancy; you shal be noted in the Christian common weal as seditious a person and minister, as great a breach to Christian unity, as ever hath don [a] *any others in our dayes*, by their rashnes and temerity. For as seditious is he, which al old customes and usages of the Church defendeth over obstinately, as he that without discretion subverteth al rashly.

[a] In the room of these words was first writ *Martyn Luther*, but blotted out.

Therfore, Master Pole, revolve this thing wel in your own mind; and let not the advice of Cardinal Contarini, nor yet of the Bp. Chete, (if you have comitted your counsils with them,) so weigh your stomac, that you forget al humanity: regarding neither Prince, country, nor friend, for a peevish popish matter. *Nec tibi, Pole, ita imponas, ut cum tuearis hanc Pontificis authoritatem, negotium Christi te agere putes. Ego certè vereor, ne dum hoc agis, Christum planè deseras. Quid enim aliud est Christum deserere, quàm legitimo Principi, qui in bonis artibus te liberaliter educavit, in honestissimis mandatis non obtemperare? Quid dulcissimæ patriæ, quæ te aluit, operam tuam denegare; parentibus et charissimis amicis humani hominis officia non præstare? At dices, et Princeps et patria Christum deseruere. O Pole, quàm insanis, si proptem unum Pontificem desertum, nos Christum deseruisse arbitrêre. Ego profectò spero fore, ut post hanc a Pontifice defectionem, arctiùs Christo hæreamus.*

And yet I wil not despair, but that you shal hereafter, as a more obedient person to your Prince than to the Pope, help to set forward at home the truth of Christs doctrine, to his honor and glory. For the which I shal never cease to pray: and that you may se such light of truth, wherby you may both in this case and in al other truly serve your Prince and country: and that both you and I, with al other, which make profession of Christs name, may also at the last agree together in concord of opinion and unity.

Lapsus es, Pole, ab officio humani hominis, qui ob tam levem causam, patriam et parentes et optimum Principem deseris: sed ignorantia planè lapsus es; cui ego omnes omnium errores, juxta Platonem, tribuere soleo.

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Mr. Pole to the King; who had commanded him home to explain his book.

PLEASETH it your Grace to be advertised, that I have received your most honorable letters, bearing date the 14th of June, delivered me the last of the same. Wherby your Grace doth give me to understand, as wel of the receit of my book and letters addressed to your Gr. and sent by my servant, as also declare your plesure touching the said book, and me the author therof. That wheras there be divers places that cannot so vively be perceived by writing as they should be by conferring the same presently with the writer, your Gr. having the desire in al points the book comprehendeth, to penetrate into the right meaning and sentence therof; therupon you declare your plesure, that, al excuses set apart, I should with al diligence repair unto your presence. So that, as far as I can learn by your Graces letter, (but much more by Mr. Secretary, stirring me more vehemently, and yet most of al by the bearer of both, informed of your plesure by Master Secretary, which hath been most fervent of al touching the suasion of my return,) your expectation at present is, not for any letter of mine, but rather for my person, to appear presently, without delay, afore your Gr. for the causes rehearsed. Wherin now, if I testifying God, that seeth the hearts of men, should this affirm, that there was never thing that I more desired, than to obey

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 334.

your Graces commandment in this behalf, and that with al diligence, wherby I might, beside al other commodities of my return, have this one great plesure to be interpreter of mine own writing, (which not sincerely understood, might be cause of many inconveniences,) surely I should say none otherwise, than afore God I do think in my heart. But because my coming ensueth not hereof, I should no fail have the less credence, unles that I did declare some great cause, why my wil agreing with your Graces commandment, nevertheles I do not put the same in execution.

Which cause now I shal shew, wherin needeth no further proces to be used, if I say briefly, that he that calleth me wil not let me come. Then if I say, your Gr. that called me, hath put such an impediment in my way, that letteth me, I cannot pas to your Gr. except temerariously I should cast away my self. This surely and truly, afore God and man, I may say, that being in that case I might go, or run, your Gr. calling me unto you. There is no let in this world were able to retain me from coming to your Gr. but only that procedeth of your self. Your Gr. alone may stop my coming: no man of what condition soever he be, prince or private, no other cause beside. I being as I am now at such liberty, as for ony let in these parties, I might come. But now how and in what maner do I say this, that your Gr. doth let me, stop me, and utterly exclude me from coming to you at this time, your Gr. having read ony part of my book, I need no great declaration. For this I have there
200 expressed by a long process. But this briefly in plain words. To shew now the same to your Grace: it is the law, the which your Gr. wil shal stand in strength, that is in no realme in Christendome used, but in yours; that we never had in yours but now alate, sineth the time you cast your love and affection to her, which, as her deeds declared, never bare love and affection towards you; by which law every man is made a traitor, that wil not agree to give you title, to make you Head of the Church in your realm, and so to accept you. This law, so sore in appearance against them that do not agree therunto, with such extremity executed,

and put in effect with so sore severity against the best men of your realm, both in vertue and learning, put to execution of death for the same, and suffering the pain of traitors; which in heart and mind, as al their deeds show from the beginning of their life to the latter dayes, had ever been your most faithful servants: this law, being stil in vigor and strength, against the which in a maner is al the process of my book, your Gr. without any further discourse here may soon perceive, if it be a sufficient impediment, that I do not come at this present.

And here your Gr. seeth, how I use no excuses for delay of my coming, which you command me utterly to set apart, albeit surely for the hastines of my coming at this time I had many reasonable excuses, as the time of the year is, in these extreme heats so unreasonable for me to journey, especially as I found my body affect, when that message was brought me, with divers just causes beside. But utterly if I should have run through fire and water, tho I had been sick in my bed, when the message came, I think nothing could have let me, but I would have ventured to set forward at your calling. But this cause I have now rehersed must needs take away al such purpose, except I would be accounted a traitor of my own life. For the which I am more bound to answer, than for any other mans beside. My body being not so much mine own possession, as it is of God and Christ, that hath redeemed me. Which I am bound to keep to his plesure, and not temerariously to cast it away. So that in this your Gr. now hearing what a great cause I have to let me, or any of my opinion to come, where such laws be executed, I trust I need to make no further process in justifying my remaining in these parts, albeit your Graces letters cal. To the which, I testify God, my mind is more prompter to obey, than your Gr. to command, if this great let were not unto me; wherby I cannot but with grievous offence to God put my mind in execution.

And now as touching the cause why your Gr. doth cal me: which is for better information and understanding of those things written in my book; I cannot tel how much

your Gr. had read therin; but this I wil say, (which I think your Gr. reading the same shal find true,) that for understanding of things written there, I have handled them in such plainnes, clearnes, and copiousnes, that there needeth very smal comment therof, other of me the author, or of any other, for the clear understanding, this being my chief purpose to make al things clear. And so I doubt not, but I have performed, in such maner whosoever understand ony thing therin, that hath the least practise of such matters, he
201 shal understand the whole. And if there lack ony thing for the understanding of my true sentence and meaning, the which your Gr. writeth your desire chiefly to be enformed of, surely it is that thing, the which I cannot give, that is an indifferent mind in the reader, such a mind to the reader as I had when I writ it, delivered of al affection, but only of the truth, and your Gr. honour and wealth: this mind I had when I writ. But whoso wil se that same in me, he must bring the like with him, and read also the whole course of my book. For he that readeth one part alone, he may both deceive himself, and more be deceived in the true meaning of my sentence. For in some part he shal think by my words, I am the greatest enemy your Gr. ever had, and that I mean more the undoing of your honor, than the maintaining therof. But he that wil compare one part with the other, beginning with the end, and confer the whole process together, tho in some part he shal se the matiers were so sore handled, yet he shal perceive the ground of that sharp handling was rooted of most ardent love, and tended to a most laudible and loving end: and that there was never book written with more sharpnes of words, nor again with more ferventnes of love and affection, to maintain your honor and wealth both in this world and in another.

Wherfore, as I said, here lyeth al the difficulty to understand my true meaning in the book, to bring an indifferent mind both to your Gr. to the cause, and to me: which had, of the understanding the book, whosoever hath any smal practise in that kind of letters, there can be no doubt. For

he hath the very key to open the whole secrets of my mind. And as touching my self, this I wil say, taking on my side to record God himself, who knoweth my mind, (which I count he gave me,) my whole desire is, was, and ever shal be, that your Gr. might reign long in honor, in wealth, in surety, in love and estimation of al men. And this I do say again, (remaining those innovations your Gr. hath of late made in the Church,) that the desire that I have, and al that love you, was nor is not ony thing possible to take effect, but rather to be contrary to that I desire, with great loss of honor to stand in great peril divers wayes, not only afore God, but in the face of the world: beginning here that same, which hereafter should be more terrible. This ony man of ony smal prudence might judge, and this was in the mouth and judgment of al men, that ever I could speak withal in such matters, that were at liberty to speak, where they might shew their mind. But this men did not only judge as of a thing to come, but of that they might se dayly, how your honor and estimation is decreased in every mans opinion, and therwith your peril must needs increase. This I testify God, I have not read a Prince spoken of more universally with more dishonor, when your actions come abroad to be known, then I have heard with my ears in divers places, and generally whersoever I have come, to the greatest sorrow that ever I bare in my mind: your actions giving matier to every matier of communication, for the strangenes of them, that in no other realm hath been used. Insomuch that if I should say, that I found my self sometime in place, where I was not known my self, nor your Gr. but by those actions; taking upon me, as I have been wont, openly to defend your cause, if I should say I was in jeopardy of my life among them, to your cause pertained nothing unto, only incitate by the injustice they 202
judged therin, surely I should say none otherwise than the truth is. And this is most true, that unto this day, touching these innovations, and the acts following, wheras I have spoken with divers, and many of al sorts of men, to find

but one that did praise them or allow them, this afore God I never did.

But to let this pas now, and to give count to your Gr. of my writing, which is my principal intent. The matier being in this case in the estimation of all men that ever I spake withal, cometh then your commandment unto me by Mr. Secretaries letters, that I should write in the matier, and shew my sentence in that principal matier, which was ground of al innovation, touching the old ordinances of the Church, when you take the name of the highest Head of the Church in your realm. Here first was al my care, because your Gr. grounded your self of certain places of Scripture, which divers books written in justification of your cause did express.

The first that ever came to my hands was of Doctor Sampsons. To that I made answer; taking away (as I doubt not but whosoever read my book shal clearly perceive) al the reasons and arguments (as nothing concluding) that he putteth. Which don, I entred to confirm in his place that Head of the Church, whom the Church so many hundred years hath confessed to be institute by Christ himself, the first institutor of the whole Church. And herein I do confound al such reasons as Dr. Sampsons book bringeth to the contrary. Which done, because sometimes the verity and justice of a sentence is not only known by way of argument, as it is by the fruit that followeth therof, which fruit standing in the acts, which followed of this title taken, albeit al came by your Graces authority, yet I could never persuade my self, that your self did wel see or know what they were. For I could never think, that remaining a spark of that generosity of nature, that I ever judged to be in you, that the deeds being of such sort, as every man knoweth they be, you could ever have found in your heart to have don them, or suffered them to be don in your realm. Which deeds, with the maintenance of your sentence, bringing not only great dishonor to your Gr. but manifest jeopardy and peril divers wayes, both afore God and man, touching your self and your whole state: to remedy this in any part there could be taken none other way, but so to manifest the qualities of those, that you might your self se what you had don, to what dishonor, in what peril you had cast your self and the whole realm. For this known, it were not possible, remaining any sparkle either of goodnes of nature, or grace of God, but you should abhor them, more than ony other man, and seek forthwith for remedy: which stondeth only in returning to the ordinances of the Church.

But al resteth in making you to know what you have don; considering that he that was counted the wisest of al princes, either afore him or after him, (which was Solomon,) made divers great errors and offences, (wherof the grievousnes and jeopardy he saw,) and at the doing being blinded by the same, that took also knowledg from your Grace, which was by inordinate affection which he bare to women. Wherfore as I say, al the whole matier touching the recovery of your honour, and deliverance of al jeopardy and peril, both afore God and man, it dependeth upon this, how 203
your Gr. might be made to know what you have don. Which not brought to pass, there was no hope of any goodnes. Nor there was never man yet, prince or other in this world, that by offence was forth of the grace and favor of God, that ever returned without knowledging the same to do amiss. For whoso continueth defending his act, he augmenteth his dishonor, and what peril dependeth therof, by that means to make it greater: so that I say in al such al resteth, that the delinquent do know he hath don amiss.

But now here is al the difficulty in a prince, Who is he that wil tel him his fault? Who is he that hath more need, having a thousand part more occasion to fal than other? Who is he that wil not rather maintain by words and say, it is wel, when it is amiss; fearing if he should other, he should displease his prince? Or if there be ony man that hath that zeal and love to his princes wealth, above his own private profit, yet where is the prince that wil hear him? So that of this sort there be very few; which is the sorest lack that princes can have. And if there be ony, they are so excluded from the princes hearing, that their good mind can take but little effect. Howbeit in your case, as tho God had provided that your Gr., for lack of one to manifest your state with God and man, should not utterly fail, he first provided to put your faithful subject in such place that he might be at liberty to speak: and afterwards putting it in your mind to ask his sentence, gave him occasion with al liberty to say, and occasion with that to be heard better by writing than by present communication. And this occasion I have not, I trust, let pass. But seeing the danger your Gr. was in before God and man, for certain deeds that God suffered you to fal into, for this end and purpose, as yet I trust to recover you, is higher honor again.

This only ground of al your wealth I have so manifested unto you, that there never was physician nor surgeon so sought a wound to purge it from rankling, as I have sought, explained, and pondered your last deeds. Wherby I reckoned your soul sore wounded: insomuch that if I did not with al vehemence of words both set forth your deeds as they were, set forth your peril that doth ensue, both afore God and man, of those deeds, with al plainnes; so that if ony rancor remained in your deeds, that I had not touched, ony peril ony way, that I had not detect unto you, surely so much I thought my self culpable of pernicious negligence towards you. Which for to escape, this caused me to let nothing untouched and unsearched, which might be found in your deeds; which I sought to the very bottome of your wounds. No peril that might ensue of them, which I found great both at home and without forth, except those wounds were healed, but I found it out. And in conclusion drew al the process of my book to shew how al things past might be amended, how al those wounds might be healed, al perils extued, [eschewed,] and you to live in more honor and wealth than ever you did hitherto. This is the end of my book, and here I leave.

But in this course to bring my matier to this conclusion, because your Gr. heareth many sharp and sower words

which may be thought signes rather of enemy than friend, touching your fame so neer, if you wil, as soon as you hear them in reading, say, this is my great enemy, afore you 204
know to what end they draw; your Gr. doth like as though one lying wounded in his chamber, and having great need of the surgeon, after that one is brought to him, which prepareth his instruments, and draweth his knife, to cut the dead and superfluous flesh, according to his craft; the patient, as soon as he seeth his knife drawn, would cry against him as against his enemy; and wil not abide to let him use his craft, wherby he hurteth himself most of al: being most enemy unto his own health, which by these means he doth lett. In like maner your Gr. seing my sharp words, and not abiding to hear the end, how they be applied to your wealth, why they were so sharpned, shal of a light sign mistake him (that meaneth nothing but your wealth) for your enemy; and be hindrance to your comfort, to the which al my sharp words do draw, and for that purpose were uttered, and in your wealth do finish.

But the final conclusion of al these discourses is this, to make you se the troth in al these matiers. This is a true ground and sure. It lyeth in no mans power, wit, learning, or eloquence: this lyeth only in the goodnes of God; to send you of the light of his Spirit, that if so be his goodnes and mercy be such, that he wil give you his Spirit in that degree of knowledg which David prayed for to be restored unto him, after his great blindnes he was stricken withal by his sin, when he prayed, *Redde mihi lætitiam salutaris tui, et Spiritu principali confirma me;* then this is plain, you shal not only take no displeasure with my rough writing, in manifesting to you your offence to God, but think it was the greatest benefit that ever ony prince, after such deeds, could obtain of God; and be more sharper and rougher judge against your self and your deeds, than ony man beside; and say plainly, I have not said the third part that might be said in reproof of them. But this judgment and severity of your self, touching your self and your deeds, shal end in such gladnes and joy, feeling the knowledg of the mercy of God entring into your heart, that no joy surely in the world beside could be compared therunto.

This, if God inlighten you, shalbe the very end of al; wherin no mans labor is worthy to be thanked, but only the goodnes of God. And that it shal come to this conclusion, whatsoever I hear or know to the contrary, surely I cannot despair, seeing God hath rid you of that domestical evil [a] at home, which was thought to be cause of al your errors; and with her head, I trust, cut away al occasion of such offences as did separate you from the light of God. And the better I am [in hope] that God wil shew his great goodnes towards you, because I understand already, that in place of her, of whom descended al disorders, the goodnes of God hath given you one ful of al goodnes [b], to whom I understand your Gr. is now maried. Wherof I beseech Almighty God send you great and long comfort, as I doubt not but shal follow. And surely there is none other lett now, only your Gr. would put off that great burden of your *head*, which presseth you so sore, that you have born awhile, to be superior Head of the Church in your realm; which no other prince beside in their realmes, feeling the displesure of God, dare venture to take upon them, nor ever did, syneth the Church began.

205 This I wil not deny hath a great appearance of a great profit and revenue coming into your coffers. And I can say nothing at this present, but infinitely wish that there were no lett, but I might confer with your Gr. presently of this matier. For this I would not doubt to make plain, that your Gr. should see it, as it were afore your eyes, that no profit gotten this way were worthy to be in ony part compared with the profit, the honor, with al surety, that may be got by leaving off this title; as the time and occasion doth make for your Gr. now: which if your Gr. doth let pass, it is most to be feared it wil never come to such a good point again.

Peradventure your Gr. wil think I speak like a yong man. I cannot deny, but that I am that yong man, that have of long time be conversant with old men; that have

[a] He means Q. Anne Bolen, lately executed.

[b] Jane Seimour.

long judged the eldest that liveth; at these dayes too yong for me to learn wisdome of, that have learned of al antiquity, of the most antient that ever were afore me, and of my time hath had most acquaintance, and most longest conversation with those that have been the flowers of wisdom in our time. Which I have sought in al places; and most enjoyed that wisdom of any yong man of my time. So that if I were a stock, I must needs know somewhat. And of al my knowledg, for one the surest I have now, that God hath sent you such an occasion, whatsoever hath been amiss hitherto, your matiers may be so handled, that your recover may be more surety, more honor, more profit to your Gr. than if you had gotten Asia out of the Turks hands, or don ony other act beside, which is counted most honorable among Christian princes. For your person alone may be the occasion of the reformation of Christs Church both in doctrin and maners; which is one the highest honor that could be wished for in this world.

Wherfore, this is the time, Sir, to cal to God that he wil not suffer you to let pas this so noble an occasion: which if it be let slip now, there is nothing more to be feared, than the sore hand of God, and his great punishment. Which for to extue, and for to enjoy this honor, now is the time for your Gr. to put al your endeavours, and to hear every mans counsil, that can say ony thing in this matier. Wherby, your antient years now growing upon you, you may finish your time in al honor and joy, not only of your own realm, but of al Christendom, according to the hope that every man had of your noble qualities and gifts of nature, that they saw with great comfort in you at the beginning of your reign. To whose expectation your Gr. hath now most opportunity to satisfy, making the end respondent to the beginning: changing in a maner nothing of that life you lead now, if that please you, except it be to encrease to more honor and joy. Only that your Gr. wil not lease this mervellous occasion, which you have given unto you now by the goodnes of God. Which cannot be expressed in few words as it is in deeds. But if God give you the grace to give ear hereunto, then he wil also find the means, that it may be performed to his honor. Wherin is encluded al your honor, profit, and surety, to the comfort of al your subjects, and the whole Church beside.

For the which is my dayly prayer, and of al desires in this world in my heart the greatest, as knoweth God, the
206 only seer of al interior motions. To whom my daily prayer is, to make you know my heart, as he seeth it. And to his protection, with al humble petition, I commit your Grace. Written at Venice, the xv. of July,

By your Graces most faithful servant,
Reynold Pole.

Number LXXXIII.

Pole, to the Bishop of Durham; in answer to that Bishop's former letter to him.

Cott. Librar.

RIGHT Honorable, and my singular good Lord: in my humblest maner I commend me to your good Lordship; advertising the same, that I have received your letter, bearing date the xiiiith of this present at London, the xxviith of the same. Wherby I perceive, as my letter is come to your hand, which I directed to your Lordship, touching the declaration of my mind and purpose, that I had in writing and sending a book alate to the K. H., as also that the book should be showed unto you, by the large expressing of your mind and judgment in the one and the other. And this was my chief desire, for the assured opinion that I had of your vertue and learning, that it might so be. Which our judgment you do so express, specially touching the book, that in few words you conclude, *to have had great heavines at your heart in reading thereof, and much more when you had read it through.* The cause wherof you do alledg to be *the vehemence and sore eagernes therof in al parts, and in no part attaining to the truth.*

Surely, my Lord, if it be so, the more ye show to favor me, the more cause ye had to be sory, especially to se me so vehement and eager, and where I have no true ground

to write therof. But here lyeth al, whether the proof you bring of your saying be of a sure ground, or no, to show this. Surely the first of al you bring is very feeble, which is bycause you say, *Al the purpose of my book is, to bring the Kings Gr. by penance home to the Church, as a man clearly separate from the same already.* And *of his recess from the Church* you write, *I bring none other proof, than by the fame and common opinion of men in these parts: which*, you say, *be far from the knowledg of the affaires of the matters in England, blindly judging of things unknown to them.* This is the first entring you make in answering my letters, and refelling the purpose of my book. Which I persuading my self that you do not write, but of such a mind as the rest of your letter showeth, desiring to have me persuaded, as one that you love and favor in that that seemeth truth unto you, and to have a more clearer judgment of mine own writing; I trust you wil pardon me, if, for more manifestation of this truth, in such words as I know not my self worthy of blame, but I have a just cause to defend my self in, I do utter the same: promising you afore God, wheras I have no right cause in such matters 207
as you lay great errors unto me, I wil never go about to defend it, but utterly and plainly grant I have don amiss, and desire also pardon of them I have offended.

But I afore I answer, and examine better your proofes, this first of al, my Lord, I must desire pardon of you, if I deny the first thing you write, and say, that in my mind I think you have not thorowly read my book, albeit you write *you have perused it through.* Thus I durst not say, except you your self did minister a just cause for me to say so. The which is this, bycause in alledging some things of my book, you alledge those that cannot be found there, as I shal show anon. Besides this, wheras you make reasons contrary to mine opinion, you bring such as I have answered already in my book. Which I know wel you wold never a done, if you had read the answer, but rather reply against my answer, showing that to be of no value, than to reherse the first answer, wherunto there is already an answer made. This must needs induce me to think, that you have not read the book; except peradventure it might be, bycause you write you saw the book with others, that you might so read it in company, as I have seen twain say service in company together, wheras they have said divers psalmes, that none of them both remember, whether have said or no, and one ask the other, whether they had don such a psalm or no. Under this maner you might read my book. This may salve your first saying, that you had read it after a maner. But after such a maner to make judgment therof, there is no man can say you read it.

But that I speak not this without proof, and a sure ground, this first I shal show, that you lay first to my charge. Wheras you write, that in my proof to declare the Kings recess from the Church, *I take none other reason, but the fame and common opinion of men in these parts.* This, my Lord, you shal not find in al my book. Neither that I take such an argument by the voice of men here, to show the King hath separate himself from the Church, nor yet any other. And the cause why, is, for seeing the Kings acts, the which al Christendom seeth as wel as I, it were a great madnes of a writer to prove that to be other in word or deed, which he seeth with his eyes, or heareth with his ears. As if a chirurgeon or physician, comeing to one lying wounded afore him, should go about to prove the man is wounded. This no man that hath sense would do. But he that is expert in such things, after he hath searched the wound, would say the wound is perillous, is great, hath need of great care. And so I, my Lord, finding the King already separate from the Church, in refusing to be obedient to him, whom al his ancestors unto this time, and he himself the best part of his reign, and al other Princes christned, doth obey as unto the Vicar of Christ in earth; I showed by divers similitudes and reasons joyned withal, the greatnes of this wound, and peril therof. But that the King by this means hath separate himself from the Church, of this I put no proof: for this was open to al them that either saw or heard the acts, or yet doth know them.

So that to return to that I said afore; you reciting of my book, which was not there, this bringeth me not only suspicion, but rather a sure knowledg that you have not read the same. Being surely persuaded that if you had, 208 you would not say otherwise than you found, which must needs come of malice. The which I can never suspect in you, neither towards me, nor no man beside. But this letteth you not to go forward in reproving the handling of my self in the book; as tho you had read it earnestly and with diligence; returning to that again which you first accuse, which is my *vehemency. Wherby*, you say, *I make many plagues, but lay little or no salve to heal them.* To this, my Lord, I do say again, that which every man reading my book shal see, that in very deed I make never a plage, when I discover those that be made already. As if one had many wounds that were kept close, the chirurgeon coming did open them, and with an instrument search them to the bottome. Under this maner I did make wounds and plages. But howsoever you cal that, you say, *that I lay little or no salve therunto.* This you would never a said, if that you had read my book through, which spend one great part of my book in magnifying the sacrament of penance. What other salve would you have, my Lord, than this, which is the only comfort of mankind, to heal al sores of the mind? And in this I spend twenty leaves of paper, not putting one sharp word: but with al force of wit, and such learning as God hath sent me, did bend my self to make open by reason, by example, and by experience, what joy, what comfort, what honor, what wealth was hid under this sharp name, that seemeth to contain none of this. But, my Lord, if God would give him grace to tast but one tear of pure penance in that maner I have described, he would say, al the plesure and comfort that ever he had from childhood, and al the whole world could give, were not to be compared to the sweetnes therof.

But stil you say, *I shew in my writing to be stirred and incensed in my spirit.* Truth it is, my Lord, it is no time for me to sleep, when I saw the Head of our realm, to whom

I owed as much reverence as ever did subject to his prince, whom nature bound me to love, and his benefits in that way, which I esteem above al other benefits, that ever he did for any, (wherby he shal have more merit of God, than ever for any that I know he hath done,) in causing me to be brought up in vertue and learning. Which is nevertheles afore God, how little soever I have profited: al this together considered in him, whom I see in the greatest peril both afore God and man; attempting such things, and bringing to effect, as never did prince, sineth the Christian faith was received of princes of the world, to the perturbation of the order and state of the whole Church; what should I do, my Lord, if I bare but one sparkle of love towards him, seeing him falling into this deep danger? Wherby, beside God, he did al that lay in him, to make twain the greatest powers in earth his enemies, as the Pope and the Emperor.

What should I do, those that should give him best counsil, and did, taken away by sword, for their right opinions, contrarying his plesure? Was it not time to cry out to him, in remembrance of that he had don; to set afore his eyes the wounds he made in his own soul; to show him his peril, and withal to show him the way to recover himself with honor? Here is al my *sharpnes*, that cannot be born, that I have shewed in my book. What would your Lord-
209 ship in this case? I cannot believe your mind is, other than because he is a prince he cannot do amiss, or he doth so amiss, that al the world cryeth out of it, that no man should tel it him. If Solomons wisdom could not save him from greatest error; nor Davids favor of God did not make good, but God, to know himself better, did permit him to fal grievously; and so grievously with such blindnes, that he, being a prophet, knew not his own fault, until he was admonished of another prophet; let not this seem strange to our prince, that he may grievously erre, and yet so erring, not know the haniousnes therof, when he hath done. And if, after his grievous offence, because he is a prince, you would have no man so bold to tel him his fault, you make

princes in the most miserable state of any men living: al other men having a mean after their fal, by the admonishing of such as love them, to recover. And from al princes take away such remedy as those, if chance were so, they should fal into a river, where without help they must needs drowne, you forbid any man from laying hand on his Majesty to touch him.

But you would have men *touch him softly and gently*. But if that cause him tary longer in peril, and put him in more jeopardy, what would you then his lovers should do? How many years be past, when every man hath used that way with the King in these innovations of laws and customes, and what have they profited, but set him more forward? That if so be at the beginning, those men to whose office that did appertain, whose sentence the King did demand, had roundly, without any color of words, set the danger of such things his Gr. did attempt before his eyes; declaring the inconveniences following therof, and brutenes of the things; surely it is to be thought, that goodnes that ever he shewed of nature could never have gone further in those purposes. But before, every man took contrary way, fearing private displesure of their own part more than the Kings wealth: the matters be brought to this point now, that not only the King thinketh not that he hath don any offence to God, but rather that he hath don so, that no prince can do better; the which is the most perillous state of a sinner. And this he thinketh, albeit his deeds be such as never prince in the world attempted afore, nor none that is alive, for the brutenes therof, wil follow his example. Here now what should an intyre favourer of his honor and wealth do? Any thing, than by al means bring them to his knowledg, that he may se them as they be? How can they be seen, except they be plainly told?

But that same *plainnes is too sharp*. Surely if there be nothing but words, it is a sharpnes may soon be washed away; and more to the writers shame than otherwise. But if the deeds, joined withal, express and bring in al this acerbity in them, is al the fault, (which is not mine,) my doing there is rather cause of thanks, which show how al may be amended and turned to good. Which is the conclusion of my book, and al mine intent in writing therof.

You wish, *I had rather comprized in a short letter my whole opinion, that the King alone might have seen it, rather than in a long book: wherby the King is forced to commit the reading therof to trusty persons of his Councel.* If
210 they be *trusty*, my Lord, what inconvenience followeth of commiting the reading to them I cannot se. But to comprize mine opinion in a short letter, his acts by that means he could not se; which was my chief purpose he should see; having that trust in the noblenes of his nature, that seeing them as they were, after the ensample of David and others, he would abhor more them, than those that writ against them.

After this, you *condemn me of great temerity, to send such a book so long a way; which if it had perished, it should a been great slander to the King; but most of al great infamy unto me for the writing therof.* If there be no other fear but of my slander, let me be punished that way, and cause them that be displeased with me to put forth the same my slander. I promise you I wil never accuse them for my part. But you say it should a been great slander to the King and to the country. Wherfore, my good Lord? For manifesting of such deeds as I have written in that book to other nations. And what nation, think you, is there, that is ignorant of any deeds written in my book: and not only not ignorant, but that hath them not so prompt, rehersing them with more slander, than either I or any man else with writing can express? I would to God they were no better known than my book might shew, I promise you there should not pass a quarter of an houre, but I would brenne my book. But as I saw, afore I set pen to book, they were better known, and rehersed with more dishonor, than a pen can express. They be written, my Lord, *stylo adamantino*, as the Prophet saith *de peccatis Judæorum*, in hearts of al Christendom. Which never shal be abolished, but only by that salve, you say, was little shewed in my book, which is, by penance. That is the thing that ever I exhort the King unto.

You write, *Your heart was cold, when you understood of two quayers of my book that were out of my hands.* You may be now of good courage again; for I promise you they be recovered. And those surely were one great cause, beside others, that moved me more, which was the death of her that was head of this disorder, why I sent my book at this time. For I doubted they had been conveyed of some that would have uttered them unto either the Kings displesure or my hindrance. Wherin I sincerely (because the King should not travail his mind, if those quayres came to his hands, as written of me, to the supplanting of his honor) sent him the whole book. Which I think was the wil of God I should do. For the quayres afterwards were found among other quayres in another book.

And wheras your instant desire is, for the sharpnes of my book, that *I should brenn the originals;* if it be so, my Lord, the Kings mind be so debile, not able to digest the acerbity therof, (which if he might, al were turned to sweetnes, and to more honor, than al the books that ever were written in his praise directly; but if he have not the heat of spirit within him, which must come only of the high gift of God,) I wil be content, examining the book, to separate the matter from the person. For the verity therof must stand, which I intend not to abolish; nor to do that injury to Catholick books that is just for heretical.

You write further, declaring your mind, *what dishonor would be to me to exercise my style against him*, meaning the King, *whom I ought in al points, by al my learning and* 211 *wit, to defend.* In this, my Lord, you write very wel what I should do, and no other than that I have ever followed. And if you judge otherwise of this book I have now written, you be a very evil interpreter of my mind in that book, if you take the same as written against the King. Which if it had been my mind, I would not a sent it after such circumstance as I did, to his Gr. nor a tempered it under such maner, as to shew how to avoid with his honor al dishonor of such acts as were first known in the face of the world, afore they were expressed in my book. But this is plain, the King may make it against him, as al truth is against them that do not accept it. As the Gospel of God is *scandalum* to them that hear it, and doth not admit the truth therof. But if his Gr. obtain that grace of God to return to the light of the truth, there was never book that should be more unto his honor written.

After this, you come in more to the particularities of my book, to shew, *how my whole book*, as you write, *runs wide from the truth.* The which you begin on this maner, *Because*, you say, *I presuppose this ground, the King to be swarved from the unity of the Church.* Now you say very truth, I take it in my book for a ground, and that is the cause, as I wrote above, that I put no proof therof, as you reherse I did. But now, my Lord, that this ground is not true, can you prove? I wish you could, or that we both could prove the same, there was never thing I wil put my hand unto gladlier. But I promise you, considering the Kings innovations in the Church, taking upon him the name and office of him in his realm, the which in the whole Church doth keep as Head the unity of the same, I am ashamed to say he doth not separate himself from the unity of the Church.

And now what proof bring you to this? You say, first, *That albeit the King be supreme Head in the Church, yet he doth not take upon him the office of a Priest, as to minister the sacraments, and to preach and teach.* What proof is this to show that he doth not separate himself from the unity of the Church, I cannot tell. Because he doth not utterly break al the whole order of the Church, do you mean therby he breaketh not the unity? You seem to cal unity to agree in rites. Which indeed helpeth to unite, meaning by unity, concord and peace. But this unity helpeth not, except he agree in the Head of the Church, that the rest of the Church doth follow; whereby *Ecclesia* is *una.* And this you granting the King doth not admit, how can you defend [*i. e.* deny] that he is divided from the unity. But because you write, the King doth not take upon him to minister the sacraments, nor to preach, which be the offices of Priests, tho he be *supremum Caput Ecclesiæ in Anglia:* how this agreeth together I cannot se; but after such maner as al those that be founded on a false ground. Which neither agreeth with other truth, nor yet with itself. Good my Lord, how is this convenient, that this name, *supreme Head of the Church in England*, hath not annexed unto the same the supreme office that is exercised in the same Church? How is it, that an inferior member shal exercise an higher act in the Church, than is granted to the highest? Is there any higher act in the Church than the administration of the sacraments? And this you wil the Priests, of whom you make the King Head, to exercise; and 212 the Head himself you wil not shall meddle with the same. After this, you go about to prove the King hath not separate himself from the Church, *bycause* [of] *the good purpose his Gr. hath to reduce his Church of England to the primitive state.* As touching his Graces mind, it is not my purpose to judg but the best; nor otherwise I wil not. But this I wil pray, that God send him light of the truth, and strength of mind withal, to execute the same, which, in great part, the acts that be don in the realm (that be so strange, that no realm in Christendome nor approveth nor followeth the same) giveth many men cause to think otherwise.

But I mervail much how you can deny the King separateth himself from the unity of the Church, in as much as you cannot name him, as you would have him named, the supreme Head of his Church in England; but withal you show, he taking the same upon him, that the unity is broken. And where is this ever found in the primitive Church, that kings were heads of the Church? This, my Lord, you, that say the King would reduce al things to the good order of the primitive Church, shal never find, that it was at any time in the Church. And bringing in so strange a thing in so great a matter, I mervail that you wil ever speak of reducing things to the primitive Churches order;

except you cal in this to be reduced to the primitive Churches order; bycause at that time the best men were sorest persecuted, Churches plucked down, their goods taken from them. Here might be a similitude of the times of the primitive Church. For thus princes, that were alienate from the name of Christ, did order the Christen part: but Christen princes never.

After this, *you make mention of* viii. *universal councels, which you wish greatly that I had read, afore I had written defence of the Popys authority: wherin I should a seen many things contrary to that I intend to prove.* How so, good my Lord? I would to God you had expressed wherin: for this you do not specify: but that there be many things which the Pope doth not observe. And so, my Lord, be there in the Gospel things of more weight than those of the councels, which the Pope himself wil grant he doth not observe. But is this against any thing that I have written? Do you think my book goeth to defend [deny] the religious observance of the laws of the Church in the Popys, according as they be bound by the laws of God, and their high authority and office? I never took that matter in hand, my Lord, nor never wil. Nor is it this Popys or that Popys authority in particular that I defend. But in general, that there is such an authority in the Church founded by Christ: which, as he was *Caput super omnem Ecclesiam*, being in earth; so leaving to be conversant by his humanity in earth, left his Vicar in earth: willing that no man in earth there should never lack of men, that should bear his room, as be pastors to his Church, as he was; and willing this order should ever continue in the Church as it hath done. Which S. Augustin, considering at his time in the succession of the Bishops of Rome, beginning of Peter, and numbering by succession the Bishops unto his time, said, *he could not mervail too much at the high providence of God in so great persecution, how yet he maintained that Church: which*, he granted, *was one great thing confirmed*
213 *him in his faith.* Against this, my Lord, you that have read the general councels better than I, you should a

brought somewhat, if you think they be against that I have written. But, whether I have read them or no, this I can tel you, neither you nor no man else, not only out of such holy councels, can bring no such thing against mine opinion; nor yet, I wil say, out of no one mans writing, that ever was counted a holy man, senyth the beginning of the Church, no such thing can be found.

Further you write, *That if those places of the Gospel that I alledg do prove*, you say, *that the Councel of Nice must needs erre, which ordained the contrary.* This is a streight argument, my Lord, if it were as you say: but bycause you show not wherin the Councel of Nice ordained the contrary, I can say no more, but deny the same, until the time that you show the place of this contrariety, which I know you shal never. And I remember to read in the Council of Nice, written in Greek in S. Anthonies library at Venice, where Sylvester, the Pope of Rome, lett by impediment of sicknes, as I remember, could not be there present; who sent in his place the Bishop of Corduba in Spain, with two others of the senior priests of Rome, which be there also named; and that Bishop bare chief authority in that Councel.

Your reason forward, *Bycause*, you say, *I stick so much to the custome of the Church in confirmation of my opinion*, you wil, *that custome should be contrary to that is used now by the Bishop of Rome.* In many things, my Lord, there is no doubt; but that it should be contrary, that there should be one Head in the Church, this was your part to shew; and in some maner you might have shown it, bycause of the persecutions in the Church. This lett many times and many years also, that this Head could not so appear, to exercise his power in al points, according to that authority God had given. This likewise might be showed. But for al this, it remained ever in the consent of the Church, that there should be one Head-pastor of the whole. But, my Lord, here is the cause why I may say surely, I know that you have not with any advertisement read my book; for this and other arguments, which I have answered to there.

The which if you had read, you would not reherse without some new replying. I may say withal, that you do not take my mind, what I mean by the custome and consent of the Church; which is a higher thing than your lawyers, wherin I perceive your studies hath been more exercised, doth intreat of, which I have by a long process intreated in my book; and now to repeat the same it were too long a process. I would think to satisfy you, if you read my process there, to take the same as the divines do take it, that be most practised in these matters spiritual. Your lawyers may entreat wel, but not after such a maner, which is a great ground to know the strength of the *dogmata* in divinity. Wherwith if you had been as well exercised, as I know your diligence in your profession, you would never have made these arguments of the general councils under such a maner as you do, nor yet that that followeth: wherin you declare your mind on this maner, saying,

Whosoever shal go about by the primacy of Peter, which was in preaching the word of God, to establish the worldly authority of the Bishop of Rome, which he claimeth in divers realmes in worldly things for profit temporal; he shal no more couple them together, than light and darknes.
214 Good my Lord, against whom speak you this? In al my whole book there is no such discourse. I never descend there to speak of the Popes authority for temporal profit: for it was nothing my matter. These be the matters wherupon the law-books much do run: and that causeth you at this time, I think, to encline to think, that wheras authority is defended, it must needs touch temporal profit, or else it is of no value. And this is one thing that I have noted in al those books that have been written of these matters against authority of the Pope, that they put no difference between the civil order, that is in realmes and cities, and that is in the Church; but take these two bodies as one, which be further asunder than heaven and earth; and in their ends and purposes like distance. Wherfore the imagination of this to be one of those, that cannot wel perceive this difference, must needs be cause of great errors, in

entreating such matters as I have at large intreated in my book, being a matter most necessary to be known.

Another ground is, wherin they do greatly erre, bycause they read in the Gospel, the preaching therof to be committed equally to al the Apostles; therfore they say Peter had no power superior to others. Howbeit you, meseems, write contrary to those men, and yet the matter is not mended therby. For your words be speaking of the primatie of Peter: *which was*, you say, *in the preaching of the word of God*, contrary to others. But their reason faileth in the concluding, yours in the principle. For this is not so, that Peter had his primatie for the office of preaching; for in that the other Apostles were equal with him, Christs words being indifferent to them al, *Ite et prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ.* But the conclusion followeth not, that thereby he had no superior authority: for he was made *Pastor ovium Christi*, and set in that room, *ad confirmandum fratres in fide.* And to him alone was said, *Petre, Pasce oves meas:* and it is another office to be Pastor, and another to preach the word of God. Which I would not doubt to make so plain, that it should be wel perceived, if it were not that I thought my letter somewhat too long already.

Wherfore now I wil come to your conclusion. But first, wheras you write, I am *deceived in the mind of the people, thinking that they should not well bear the abolishing of the Popes power; which rejoyce much*, you say, *at the taking away therof, as of a great burden.* To this I wil say no more, but that those that have perverted the peoples minds, if it be so, hath more burden on themself afore God to answer for. *Qui scandalizat unum de pusillis istis*, you know the rest what followeth of Christs words. But they that scandalize a whole nation, what shal follow? If the first be true, the second is more plain. But if there were such a burden as you write of, could there no means be found to relieve that, without taking away the Popes authority spiritual, that the rest of the whole Church so many ages of men hath agreed unto, and yet doth, you only except? But let the spirituality say plainly, as they feel it earnestly, whether al the Popes together, that ever exercised their authority in the realm, hath pressed them so sore as they have been this little time, syneth the authority of the Pope was suppressed.

At last you come to answer to the fault that I layd unto you, That you fainted to follow those captains to heaven-
215 ward, for the testification of Christs doctrin: to whose vertue, learning, and wisdom you were ever conformable, until the time came of making up their life with so noble a conclusion. To this you make answer under such maner surely, that if you had cause afore to say, I gave you occasion to be heavy in your heart in reading my book, a thousand part more just cause you give me, for the reverence and love I have ever born unto you, to mourn and lament that mind, which you show by your answer. For, good my Lord, what answer is this, where you say, *You never thought to shed one drop of bloud in that cause, for you were sure that those that have had most avauntage by that authority, would not have lost one peny to salve your life; nor wil not*, you say, *for me, if I were in like necessity.* Wherfore you exhort me to keep me from trust of such succor. Good my Lord, tel me, my Lord of Rochester, or Master More, did they hope of such succor? Did they think the Pope would send an host to deliver them from death? What words be these in so great a matter, for the gravity of such a man as you ever have been esteemed? Make you the matter as light as you wil, there was never a greater matter entreated, of more importance to the wealth of the realm, and the whole Church, than this. And this same that you go about to take away, the authority of one Head in the Church, was a more principal and groundle cause of the loss of the Orient, to be in infidels hands, and al true religion degenerate, than ever was the Turks sword, as most wisest men have judged. For if they had agreed al with the Occidental Church, they had never come to that misery: and like misery, if God have not mercy on us to return to the Church, is most to be feared in our realm, and in al other where such discession is made. And if you wil not

suffer in this cause, except you be sure, those to whom it most appertaineth wil again allow with you; look wel upon the matter, my Lord, and you shal find, that he to whom this cause most belongeth unto is the same, that not only hath suffered for you, but dyed for you, to redeem you body and soul. It is Christs cause, my Lord, and for his sake dyed these great men, your great friends; whom you may not think of so little spirit, nor so vile mind, that they saw not wherfore they dyed, or that they dyed for any respect, advantage, or thing, to be looked for in this world.

But you say, *There be now as great learned men in divinity in the realm, as be in other countries.* But how much more greater than my Lord of Rochester, or Master Moore, or other holy learned men that dyed for this cause? I can say no more, but God send you a more livelyer spirit, than you show now to his honor.

Now I come to the last conclusion of your letter: where by another fashion of reasoning, as *by the honor, reverence, and love I bear to the Kings Highnes, my country, and friends*, you do exhort me, *to leave the opinion that I have so much advanced in my book.* And first of al you alledg unto me the estimation of my whole country, what they would think of me, if they, delivered out of a great bondage, meaning by that the obedience to the Pope, I should go about to reduce them to captivity again. Here, my Lord, I cannot tel what I may more lament; your words set under this maner, or the misery of the time in our country, giving place to your words: which hath continued now some years in such maner, that, meseemeth, the time of the building the tower of Babylon is come again, when no men 216
understand other. For so it is now. This captivity you speak of, and this liberty, I understand not what you mean. But if sentence compound of words, having deeds conformable to the words, making al seeming true, this I find indeed, and in this I wil not take record of one man, or one city or town, but of one whole state of the realm, which is the spiritualty, which should have most ease by

this renouncing of the Popes power, the same most extending over them. And now, my Lord, you be one of them, you may answer for al. But here needeth no answer, your sweet liberty you have got, syneth you were delivered from the obedience papal, speaketh for it self. Wherof the rest of the realm hath such part, that you be without envy of other countries, that no nation wisheth the same to have such liberty granted them. But thus I speak, we be brought to such case, worse than Babylon, that no man understandeth another in his own tongue. That that one calleth captivity, another calleth liberty; that one saith is against the King, another calleth with the King.

And this began at such time as the practise of the unlucky mariage was brought in: when the King would leave the noblest and best lady in the world, and would needs couple himself with the vilest, as the cause of her death shewed. Then came this confusion. For then being divers sentences, the one that the King had lived twenty years together in an incestuous life, a life against nature, and beastly, as they said; meaning the conjunction that he had with Q. Katharine so long time; therfore he must leave the same. In another part, defending the contrary, (which was also my sentence,) that the King was a Prince of honor, and maried with greatest and weightiest counsil of two noble realms, both England and Spain. Wherunto agreed the consent of the Pope, which took away al spots, if there were any of illegitimate coupling. And this might wel be maintained by good learning. Every man looking what the King would do, the conclusion was, he agreed to the former sentence, that defamed his life, al the flower of his yoingth; and so agreed to it, that they that were on the other part for good wil, seeing their sentence, wherewith agreed al good learning, were first called *adversaries to the Kings cause*, afterwards, I trow, *traitors*. And none of those mens writings might go abroad, that defended the honor of the Kings mariage and his whole life, but those that most defamed him, that were thought most strongly to prove his unnatural, incestuous, and beastly life, these were had in most count; these were printed, and read of every man. This, my Lord, seemed monstrous unto me, and to al the world beside, and yet doth, and ever shal.

But to return to my purpose, here began the great confusion, that no man could understand other, but that that was aforetime called constancy in them that would not let themself be turned from an assured knowledg of the truth, this was called obstinacy. Those men, of whose vertue, learning, wisdom, fidelity, and love to the King and the realm, where had such sure proofes, that never of any born under the rule of a king could be had more: those were called first ignorant, and afterwards condemned as traitors. But to conclude, my Lord, touching first my country, that you write would have so il opinion of me, if I follow that 217 opinion I am entred into; this conclusion, if men cannot discern their friend from their foe, shal not lett me, my Lord; but *per infamiam, et bonam famam*, as S. Paul saith, I wil do them good, where I may have occasion. As touching the King, this wil I say, if he be left and desolate of al counsil, that maketh most to the wealth of his soul of al other, if every other man for fear, or some private respect, leave to meddle in such matters, surely I wil never leave him, but, whersoever I have occasion, show my mind grounded on the truth. And here is the bond you speak of towards him, of my bringing vp in vertue and learning. Which I wil ever keep, whatsoever peril or jeopardy to me privately depend therof. And that you write, *my lady, my mother, and other my friends, should take discomfort hereby;* I know, my Lord, they love the King too wel, if they se the purpose of my mind, to take any discomfort therof. But al the discomfort I take my self is this, that this mind towards the King, which I do knowledg to procede of the high benefit of God, taketh so little effect: knowing my cause so just, so profitable, so honorable, so sure for his Grace.

You wish, that you *might be but one day with me, to confer these matters.* There is nothing, my Lord, I would more desire, if it might be; for I know your faithful hear towards his Gr. and se your opinion, tho it be not wel grounded, yet the root of your meaning is good. And that you swarve from the height of this truth, it cometh rather for long continuance in other studies, that baseth the mind too much, where the light of the truth cannot be known, than of any malice.

And wheras you write in the end of your letter, that I *returning to the new received opinion of my country now, whatsoever I have written, you doubt not, but the means to be found, that I should be as wel received in the Kings mind as ever I was.* Surely, my Lord, knowing as I know, if I should now change, then it were better time to cast me out of his mind, if I were ever in afore. And as touching the Kings favor, this be you assured, for any advantage that ever I did or wil look therof to my self, I wil never desire it. I cannot but knowledg the benefit of God herin, that syneth I came to any sense of mans knowledg, I cannot remember I ever esteemed any thing that the King, or any prince beside, was able to give me: and if I had come to his Court to serve him, I had come to give, not to receive; and to give nothing of mine own, but al that God hath given me to serve him withal to his honor. Whose fortune, if it had been to have had my service, beside the comfort that he should have had, served of one of his own bringing up, of his own choise; (whom God had ever furthered to that end he could desire of me; whom nature also had joyned with him;) if I had not brought to pass to kindle his love in the hearts of al his subjects, with such honor and reverence, that no power in earth could abolish, to the admiration of al foreign nations, surely I would never a thought to have done the third part of my duty. Wherin I doubted not to have obtained of God al that might help to such an end. But the hope of this now, meseemeth, is past. I had trusted, that woman that had been cause of al these dishonors, had taken away al dishonor with her; especially hearing what a good lady the
218 King hath now taken. So that my hope was, redressing al

that was past amiss, his Gr. in his latter dayes might better tast of the fruit of true honor, to the better contentation of himself and al his subjects. But if the ire of God, which hath been sore provoked, be against this, I can say no more, but cry to him to turn his just ire into mercy, tho we deserve none. And the more fervently it maketh me cry, the more I see approch the General Councel: which already denounced [a] when it shal take effect, the king remaining in his opinion, several from other christened princes, must needs make him great dishonor, great fastidie. And what shal follow, God knoweth. For his hand most of all surely I do fear. Wherfore this must needs give me great sorrow at my heart, the more I see also now so great opportunity, divers wayes, if God give him grace to return this time, how with recovery of his honor he may be also a great instrument of God to the reformation of the whole Church.

[a] June 2, 1536. to begin May 23, 1537. at Mantua.

The day afore [b] I received your letter, furr I insure you beyond my expectation, I received a brief from the Pope, of which the copy I have sent to Mr. Secretary, wherin he declareth his good intent for better preparation of the future councel already denounced, to have a congregation this winter at Rome of the best learned men of every nation. Among whom, albeit most unworthy, he calleth me thither, binding me with as sure a bond, as I have sure opinion, he may do so for such a good purpose, by the authority granted of Christ, that I shal not refuse to come: wherunto, God willing, I wil obey, tho with great sorrow remembring the King and my country; whom it may please God of his infinite mercy to salve, and to joyn sentence and opinion with them, whose service is most acceptable afore God, to his honor, and the wealth of the Church. Who also may illuminate your spirit to follow the same. And thus to his protection I commit you. Written in a place in the country beside Padoa, where I lay this hot season, the first day of August,

[b] July 26.

By your good Lordships assured orator,
Raynold Pole.

Number LXXXIV.

Cardinal Pole to the Lord Crumwel, upon his attainder, and retirement out of France unto Cambray.

Cleopatra, E. 6.

MY Lord, If afore time it could not be surely and clearly perceived, what affection I have ever born to the Kings honor and wealth, which in my whole life never gave the least occasion, why ony man should think, but with them that tendred the same most, I might chiefly be numbred, if my deeds were truly and indifferently examined: but howsoever it be, if ony deed afore perversely interpretate, might 219 rise ony scruple to surmise the contrary, these letters that I write now, as the time and case requireth, (bearing that tenor as in reading you shal know,) be sufficient not only to abolish al former doubts, shewing those to be perversly surmised; but that make clear, that a more constant and stable mind in observance of a prince hath not been found, neither in subject, nor other person beside. And the cause hereof is, that there never happened like occasion, as this is that causeth me now to write, whereby my mind might be so wel known, which occasion is given of the Kings part under this maner: that he procuring against me by such mean to my undoing, as was never heard of the like in Christendom, against ony that bear that person, that I do at this time: if my mind after this remain stable, to procure al things that may be to his honor and wealth, as ever I have professed afore time, what can be more surer token of a deep and a profound grounded love and affection? Whether I do so, I shal afterward show you. If I declare first to him, that knoweth it best, the Kings act against me, to the intent you may know, if I after that remain in myn old state of observance, it is not for ignorance that I know not what is machinate against me. And surely, tho I knew afore, both by your letters and others, in what displesure the King had me, without the least cause showed of my part, I take God and my conscience to judg: which thing (if I had born but a mean affection) might have been sufficient to alienate also my mind from thence, where I saw, whatsoever I did for the best, I be ever accepted in the worst part.

But this I wil not have now take for ony proof of my mind, but to procede of the Kings displesure towards me. The less I know the cause to be, the further I was from al imagination to suspect, that his Gr. should be so incensed against my person, that for to have me in his hand, he would be content to break and violate both Gods law and mans, to disturb al commerce between country and country, between man and man. And this I would never a thought, but finding the same to be so indeed, I could not but find withal, how his Gr. was bent withal to my utter undoing. Against the which if I remain in my old purpose to procure his wealth and honor, he that wil seek other proofes after this, or wil not be content with this declaration of a mans mind, he declared withal that with no proof he wil be content, but wil have one his enemy, whether he wil or no.

And of this mind of the King towards me, I had first knowledg at mine arriving in France. Of the which, to show you the ful motion of my mind herein, I was more ashamed to hear, for the compassion I had to the Kings honor, than moved by ony indignation, that I coming not only as Ambassador, but as Legate in the highest sort of ambassage that is used among Christen princes, a Prince of honor should desire of another Prince of like honor, Betray thine Ambassador, Betray the Legate, and give him into my Ambassadors hands to be brought unto me. This was the dishonorable request, as I understand, of the King. Which, as I said afore, to me surely regarding mine own part, I promise you was no great displesure; but rather, if I shal say truth, I took plesure therin, and said forthwith to my company, that I never felt my self to be in ful possession to be a Cardinal, as when I heard those tidings, 220
wherby it pleased God to send like fortune to me, as it did to those heads of the Church, whose persons the Cardinals do represent; which was to be persecuted most of them, whose wealth they laboured for most busily. In this case lived the Apostles. And the same now being happened to me, afore God I promise I felt no displesure, but rather was glad therof, specially considering hereby I had the bet-

ter occasion to declare and justify my mind more than ever I had before. Which was ever in my mind.

But touching the thing, if we had no other religion, but lived as pagans and infidels, yet *jus gentium* should ever teach us what demand this was. The law of nature alone might declare, how abominable it were to grant to such a request, and no less to desire it. This I reherse now to this intent, that you might the sooner perceive, that if there had been but one spark of a mind alienate from the King, this were enough to set the same in such a fire, that first considering how al regard of honor was set apart, and the law that maintaineth the commercement betwixt men, purposed to be violate, so that it might turn to mine undoing, first of al on my part I should abstain from al commercement with that party, either by word, writing, or deed: secundarily, procure by al honest wayes, if I would not by dishonest, to repair this malignity, to the uttermost damage I could devise, towards me, of whose malign mind towards me I had so great experience.

And yet after al this, first of al you may se forthwith, by writing at this time, I do not abstain from the first act to practise and entreat with them, that hath been authors[a] therof; and to practise yet to his honor and wealth, which would utterly extinguish both in me, and if I be heard herein, to put the same also in execution. Which thing tho I do surely of mine own purpose and mind, yet some occasion hereof, how it cometh otherwise, I wil not deny, nor keep close. Which is this. That wheras the Bishop of Verona, that was sent of me to the French Court, to intimate those affaires, that for the wealth of Christendom the Pope had committed unto me, to intreat with his Majesty, in his return, passing by Abbevyle; where were lodged my Lord of Wynchester and Mr. Bryan, (wheras he could not but greatly mervayl of this act of the King towards me, my whole legation purposing no other but his honor and wealth,) and desiring therfore to confer the same with the Ambassadors, for the better declaration of the truth of the matters to be known as they were, my Lord of Wynchester

[a] Secretary Crumwel.

and Mr. Brian both abstaining, for respect, from al communication, yet sending unto him their Secretary, after the Bishop had in part declared the effect of my legacy, that touched in ony part the King, it seemed to be open to both parties, that al the King had don against me was of the sinister and false reports of others, that by false conjecture of things they knew had evil informed the King of my purpose of coming into these parts. Which the Secretary thought, onys cleared and declared either by letters or messengers, the King would turn his mind as his Gr. saw the deeds to justify themselves. This the Bishop of Verona at his return shewed me; which I accepted in that part to be true also: that al came of evil information, and that his Gr. 221
being ascertained of my mind, as it is and ever hath been, it were not impossible in some part to knowledg rather my gratitude, than to machinate ony thing contrary. And that it might be so known, for al parts it cannot be but wel.

But, as I shewed the Bishop, by letters I had attempted often the same, but al could not prevail. My messenger I had sent often for that purpose, could never be admitted to have audience of the King. And without one of these wayes were found, there could no conclusion be had in these matters. Where in reasoning with him, I asked, if for the love and service that ever he hath born to the King, and shewed indeed when he was in that place, where his service might be in stead to the King, and love also he hath ever to me, having assured knowledg of al my affaires and purposes, not only these last, but al synyth my departing from the realm, whether he could be content, the Kings plesure first known, to acquiet the Kings mind in this behalf, by going to his Gr. and enforming him of the whole, wherin aforesaid he should do a deed most charitable. Wherin also I did alledg unto him for to bind him withal, because after such demonstration of the Kings mind made unto me, few men would be content to practise with his Gr. in any thing belonging unto me; for this cause I did reherse to you mo things to induce him hereunto; and among others this chiefly, the purpose of his coming to me, which afore God was this, that the Pope intending by al means of benignity to practise with the King, having the French King so joyned in amity with the King, and with his sanctity also, devising for a meet instrument between both; if any person, for this degree newly taken were not accepted, the Bishop of Verona was thought most meetest; being, for his old deserts to both Princes, as long as he was in that place, where he might do them serviceable plesure, as it was to be thought grateful to them both, and contented for his goodnes the best Busshop of Italy.

So that al things considered in matter of the Church, to entreat with these Princes, none was thought like: therfore the Pope bound him to take this journey with me for this purpose. And this bond, among others, I rehersed unto him, when I moved him to go unto the King.

To the which he made answer, If there were none other bond nor respect in this matter, but of Gods knowing my matters as he doth; and seeing what inconveniences might follow, if they were not at last wel accept, besides the service he hath ever owed to the King, and love towards me; knowing what comfort it might be to al parts, if my true and faithful dealing were wel intimate to the King; he would be content at al time, the way onys found afore, how with commodity he might come to the Kings presence, to take this charge upon him.

This, my Lord, you may now perceive, that if I had ony part that mind, that the King, procuring against me, doth show to be persuaded I have, it could not be possible I could have ony confidence to attempt ony meddling with his Gr. under such maner. But because nor my confidence
222 nor affectionate mind yet is not taken away, therfore this I do declare unto you by these letters, to the intent you may intimate the same to his Grace. And now you se by a great proof what my mind is: you may also se, how al suspicion may not alonely be cleared, many things appeared, that peradventure might turn to greater trouble; but also many things be brought to light, to the Kings most assured honor and wealth, than ony thing is, I think, thought of

hitherto to make for the same. For al this I dare promise to follow, if the Busshop be heard with that mind, as he is sent, and content for to go.

Other declarations of my mind by letters I intend not to make, than my letters agreing with mine actions, sent afore, do make testimony; and that the Busshop, which is privy to al, may declare presently. But this I wil say, if I bear in ony part that mind the Kings act against me doth show his Gr. is persuaded I should have, surely I would never have don as I have don, in al mine acts and processes, [that is,] by letters made the King and you privy unto them, (this I did at my first coming to Rome,) and cause of my legacy now, and the cause of my coming to these parts. Such advices rebels be not want to give unto those from whom they rebel. But especially at Rome, (being there when the time was precious for the King in his realms,) letting them the sending forth of the censures, (which might have caused more trouble,) and sending at that time my servant purposely to offer my service, to procure by al means his honor, wealth, and quietnes: animating besides those that were chief of my neerest kin to be constant in his service. This rebels be not wont to do. And I know at Rome, if ony man had been premiate to do him service, none could have don more.

In so much that men judged me half a rebel to God and my country, because I would not assent to divers things, that had been little to the Kings quietnes. But especially having in my hond those writings, that, put forth, peradventure might a cause most trouble of al: these instantly, being desired of those, which had in a maner authority to command, and yet ever finding means, that they never came into their sight nor honds; and to this hour suppressing the same. Bethink you wel. But as I say, my purpose is not to justify my mind by these letters at this time in mo acts than one, which is of this present time. Nor if it be not justified of such an one as the Busshop is, that knoweth them assuredly, I do neither intend hereafter to labor ony more herein: afore God and al men, that wil be indifferent judges of the truth, I wil not doubt at al times to justify my self towards the King. I would to God I could so wel justify my self afore God and the Catholic Church, for negligent service in this behalf, bycause I would not offend the King.

Now I wil say no more, but pray unto Almighty God to put that in the Kings mind, that may be most to his honor and wealth, with grace to follow the same; and to take from al other such occasion, why they should think, if they serve the [Church or Pope] according to their conscience, they should be constrained to offend the King: and so
223 hereby to separate the one from the other. Which surely to no man should be more grief than to me. But Gods plesure be fulfilled above al, to whom I now commit you. Written at Cambray, the second day of May,

Your loving frend,
To my Lord Privy Seal. R. Card. Legatus.

Number LXXXV.

Lee, Archbishop of York, to Crumwel, Lord Privy Seal; concerning Friars, preachers in his diocese.

Cleopatra, E. 5.

RIGHT Honorable, after my heartiest commendation: I have received the Kings most honorable letters and yours, by the Kings messenger, named Adams, the xxiii. of this month: by which I perceive, that his Highnes plesure and yours is, that I shal do my best endeavour, first to avoid, that no contrariety be here suffered in preaching against the *new novelties:* by which, I suppose, you mean, no opinions be pronounced or taught, without wise and discrete qualification. And thirdly, to repress the temerity of al those, that odre privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, would advaunce the pretended authority of the Bishop of Rome.

Wherin licke it you to understand, that surely in my conscience I know no man here, that in any maner goeth about to avaunce the said authority; and what I have done to set forth the contrary, you partly know. And if I shal hereafter know of any such thing, I shal with al diligence put him to silence.

Contrariety in preaching I have not suffered; ne have heard of any, saving that one Friar in York preached of purgatory, whom because he did it, the Kings plesure not known, I forthwith discharged of preaching. Wherof a [I] wrote to you by my brodre, Treasurer of York; and one oodre contention betwixt the Vicar of Doncastre and a light Friar there: wherupon I charged the said Vicar, that he in no wise should preach of any article mentioned in the ordre taken by the Kings Highnes. And because I was credibly informed, that the said Friar preached some of the said articles, and that after such sort as the people were much offended, I commanded the Vicar that he should not suffer him to preach. And forsomuch as the said Vicar and oodre layd certain articles against the said Friar, which he had preached, I sent for him first by a gentle letter, but he would not come, but answered me plainly, he would ask counsil; and so went to London. Afterward, at his return, I caused him to be cited, but he would not appear. And now I have given commission down to examine his articles; and if he hath preached much slanderously to the offence of the people, I shal discharge him of preaching. There is also another Friar of the Gray sort, of whom I am now informed, whom I shal also discharge. For he preacheth new things, and that very slanderously to the offence of the 224 people: and whether he hath commission of me or not, I do not yet know. I admitted some at the request of Dr. Brown, pretending to me, that they were discrete and wel learned, and should do the King good service. Odre preachers of novelties here be none, that I know of, ne hath been, saving two or three that pretended to have the Kings authority. With one of whom I spake. Of whom afterwards I heard no great complaint; and he shortly after departed. The toodre hath preached since at Polls Cross, as we hear, and there declared his learning, which is liek his life: both nought, as the common clamour of this country is.

Al the Kings matters the people hear reverently and obediently: but at such novelties, especially handled without charity or discretion, the people grudge much: wherof heretofore I have advertised you by my letters. I trust there shal be no default found in me, but that I shal se the Kings commandment fulfilled to the uttermost of my power. And if hereafter [any] shal come with the Kings licence or yours, I trust you wol be content that I shal put them to silence, as wel as oodre, if they preach any such novelties. I sue stil to you for my commission, in which I trust I shal do good service for the Kings discharge and yours, if you give it me. Truly we have and shal have great need therof for many causes. And thus in my heartiest maner I commend you to the keeping of our Lord. From Cawod, the xxiiii. January.

Your own ever assured,

Edowarde Ebor.

Number LXXXVI.

The University of Cambridge, their congratulatory letter to the King.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 242.

OCTAVIUS Augustus, Princeps invictissime, cum veteranus quidam illi pro tribunali sedenti libellum timidiùs porrigeret, Quid, inquit, trepidas, commilito, tanquam si stipem elephanto dares? Ægrè nimirum tulit modestissimus imperator, quod quam lenitatem et animi moderationem toto orbe notam illustremque esse voluit, eam ejus miles ita timidè reformidaret. At nos immensa clementia, meritorumque magnitudo tuorum, et ardens illa, atque inflammatus in pietatem amor, quem in tua Majestate cernimus, ita consolatur, et ad se invitat, ut quod alioqui ne optare quidem aut sperare fuissemus ausi, id, tuæ Majestatis in virtutem ac religionem animi impetu et ardore abusi, etiam petere audeamus. Acceptis enim duobus a tuâ Majestate

beneficiis, quibus nihil majus aut populus accipere, aut melius Princeps dare, aut omnino uberius homo homini conferre præstareve potest: pace nimirum et pura purgataque religione. Nova quidem et alia petere, cum quæ dedisti sint maxima, nec volumus, nec debemus. Quæ autem ad 225 hæc defendenda, et sarta tecta conservanda pertinent, si postulaverimus, et velle illud tuam M. et jubere speramus. Quanquam alteram ita tuâ Serenitate tutatam fuisse cernimus, nihil ut quisquam amplius exoptare possit: alteram tanto studio inchoatam vidimus, ut omnia jam sperare queamus. Nam cum initio faustissimi tui regni, subactis Scotis, Gallos ad conditiones pacis adegisti, illa tum fuerunt fundamenta pacis et quietis jacta, tot ut jam annos ad hunc usque diem non nemo fortasse cupiit, nemo tamen ausus est eam convellere.

Ad religionem vero corrigendam, quæ longè a prima puritate recesserat, serò animum adegisti; non profecto serò, si quantæ res, quàm parvo spacio, in illa emendanda et corrigenda, transactæ confectæque sunt reputemus. Sed nimirum certè serò, si quanto desiderio veræ religionis T. Majestas, quanto amore jam agnitæ pietatis populus flagret, velimus considerare. Illa quoque quæ ingenti labore magnoque studio in vinea Domini repastinandâ refodiendaque peregeris, non solum paranda, sed etiam fruenda fuerant. Utque tanquam excellens artifex, non modo speciosum præclarumque opus ederes, et ad exitum perduceres, sed operis etiam tui pulchritudine diu multumque oblectatus anteactorum laborum fructus jucundâ factorum memoriâ retineres. Quanquam Sublimitatis tuæ labores et defixas in Evangelium propagandum cogitationes respiciens Deus; ut resipiscentem populum, et ad suas leges conversum, aliquo magno bono afficeret, tandem, tandem, inquam, aliquando pignus illud amoris erga nos sui, Principem EDOARDUM infantem, tali parente dignum, ad nos demisit; ut esset, cui non solum florentissimi regni, sed etiam sinceræ tuæ fidei, germanæque religionis, hæreditatem relinqueres. Hujus te causâ noctes ac dies studere intelligimus, omnemque operam tuam ac solicitudinem eo conferre, ut quod in religione purganda, feliciter fortunatissimeque sit inchoatum, quodque adhuc relinqui videtur, id, Christo bene secundante, perficias quam primum et absolvas.

Quid igitur inchoatum dicimus, quid relictum? Annon Romanus Pontifex rejectus est? Ejicitur. Annon ejus diplomata, condonationes, indulgentiæ, cæteræque bullæ et nugæ sunt explosæ? Exploduntur. Annon bona monachorum pars, quorum vita superstitiosa, religio vana, ritus monstrosi fuerant, sublata est? Tolluntur. Annon indignus cultus imaginum, et sanctorum prohibitus est? Prohibetur. Annon fraterculorum gens, natio ex fraudibus et mendaciis concreta, Romani Pontificis idolum, Papisticæ vanitatis seminarium, et veterum pharisæorum et philosophorum reliquiæ, exactæ sunt? Exiguntur. Intelligimus nos jamdiu abuti tua patientiâ, clementissime Princeps, nisi quod hæc recordatio pulcherrimorum factorum tuorum, quæ nobis est jucunda, est, ut speramus, et tuæ M. non ingrata. Quid igitur desideramus? Quid petimus? Quæ hactenus facta sunt, ea sunt omnia summo consilio, summaque prudentia gesta. Quicquid enim fuit errorum, et nebularum, id omne Serenitatis tuæ vigilantia pepulit, disturbavit, dissipavit, evertit.

Et erat hoc quidem primum. Sed tamen intelligit illa tua M. non semper satis esse adversam aciem profligare et fundere, nisi tuam quoque diligenter munias et conserves. Non sufficit quantum libet procul effugasse hostem, nisi dispositis præsidiis, et per stationes idoneas collocato milite, quam longissimè a tuis muris eundem coerceas. Magna res
226 est quam es exorsus. Divinum est, et non humanum inceptum, religiosissime Princeps. Christus ipse primus hæc jecit fundamenta: secuti Apostoli. Et tamen quàm brevi tempore zizanium succrevit, adolevit superstitio, pontificia tyrannis imposita est? Etenim umbra quamvis longe abigatur, nisi accensis identidem luminibus assiduè repulsa fuerit, quam mox revertitur? Et hominum fere genus magis tenebris delectatur, quam luce. Quamobrem enitendum est sedulò, et omni ope in id incumbendum, non solum ut ea quæ nunc tua Serenitas habet totius orbis lumina, puros

ac sinceros radios emittant; sed ut siquid illis humanitus contingat; novæ ut lampades, novique faces possint accendi: qui quanto sint copiosiores et densi magis, tanto majorem veræ lucis proventum, tanto debiliores fore tenebras, oportet sperare. Neque vero committendum est, ut ex agro dominico malæ tantum herbæ, vitiosæque stirpes evellantur, sed adhibenda est opera, ut etiam bonæ magno numero foveantur, et conserantur.

Quid igitur anticipamus consilia tua, et quid faciendum sit, ipsi præibimus? Minime vero: neque enim ignoramus ista tuam Sublimitatem agitare, et tota mente revolvere; quomodo de pietate vera quam optimè merearis, et Christianam religionem quàm latissimè exaugeas, neque id parcâ et malignâ, sed liberali ac magnificâ, vereque regiâ manu. Sed siquid tale tua M. cogitarit, aut animo destinaverit, nostri fuit officii submovere, suppliciterque petere, ut huc ad nostram Academiam flectas oculos. Quæ cum semper sinceriori religioni maximè faverit, talem Principem, qui in succernenda, depurandaque doctrina Christi tantum laborem collocaverit, non potuit non eximiè præter cæterorum subditorum conditionem amare. Movet nos fraterculorum nostrorum ruina: non quidem quod eos exertos dolemus, quos non solum mutiles, sed etiam perniciosos Christianæ religioni fuisse duximus: sed ut exoptemus, et vehementer cupiamus, quæ domicilia superstitioni olim, et vanæ religioni dedicata fuerunt, ut eadem doctrinæ Christi, bonisque literis edocendis aliquando inserviant. Atque illud quidem supremis precibus a Deo O. M. tuaque Majestate petimus: id in summis votis, atque optatis nostris habemus; quibus ex ædibus quum Cœnobia dicebantur, ignavus fucorum grex, et magnus impostorum numerus, evolare solebat, ut eadem collegia facta, vel juvenum præclaras indoles ad discendum, vel seniorum eruditam turbam ad concionandum, videamus emittere.

Quibus nostris precibus, si tua M. annuat, cum omnia feceris, quæ non solum ad conservandam, sed etiam ornandam tuam remp. pertinent, tamen ad innumerabilia tua in religionem Christianam beneficia, quod fieri jam posse non videbatur, maximus hoc tuo facto cumulus accedet. Jesus Christus serenissimam M. tuam diu servet ac tueatur. Cantabrigiæ. E Senatu nostro, duodecimo die Octob.

M. T.
Deditissimi Servi ac Scholastici,
Vicecancellarius et Academia Cantabrigien.

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Number LXXXVII.

The University of Oxford, their congratulatory letter to the King.

Serenissimo Principi, Henrico ejus nominis Octavo, Angliæ et Franciæ Regi, Dno. Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensori, necnon Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ immediatè post Christum in terris Capiti Supremo, Cancellarius et universus Oxoniensium cœtus, salutem.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 245.

QUUM alia sunt permulta, Henrice regum clarissime, quæ sacræ Majestatis tuæ nomen orbi commendant, illud tamen communi omnium sententiâ cum primis illustrat, quod nihil jamdiu tibi sit antiquius, vel magis quicquam in votis habeas, quam Angliam tuam, non multis ante seculis barbaram prorsus ac incultam, a fœda barbarie, resuscitatis ubique meliorum literarum studiis, vindicare, ac ab umbratili ac falsâ quadam religione, quæ paulatim Romanorum Pontificum imposturis irrepsit, ad pietatem ac verum numinis cultum reducere. Nam quum non aliud constet esse munus, quod magis Christianum principem deceat, quàm in hunc totis nervis scopum incumbere, huc labores omnes omniaque consilia referre, ut subditi fiant non tam claris literis, quam pietate insignes, quis jure negarit te optimi regis officio abunde perfunctum esse; cujus potissimum operâ tantus ubique bonorum pariter ac literatorum proventus per omnes regni tui partes exoriatur, ut Britannia, in qua, patrum nostrorum memoriâ, omnium ferè bonarum artium studia frigebant, sic, te Principe, sinceriores disciplinas colat, ut in ea non parum multi sint, qui cum veteribus ipsis literarum proceribus jure optimo queant de eruditionis palmâ concertare: sic pietatis studium amplectatur, ut nusquam omnino magis ad Christi regulam, ac puræ religionis præscriptum hodie vivatur.

Nec mirum sanè in regno tuo virtutis ac literarum segetem passim renasci, quum a te, penes quem rerum summa est, hæc imprimis colantur: sic ut subditis tuis vel calcar esse possis, quo hisce rebus acrius insistant. Quodque facile maximum est, quum harum rerum studiosis, ita ex animo faveas, ut non alios libentius ad summos provehas honores, quàm quos vitæ integritas, vel eximia literarum peritia, vel utrumque horum, tibi commendant. Accedit etiam, quod Academias, quæ sunt veluti fontes virtutis et literarum seminaria, sic regia authoritate tueris, sic inaudita liberalitate foves, sic denique melioris literaturæ professoribus ornas, ut unus ipse multorum beneficia regum, qui easdem, primitus in publicam utilitatem instituêre, tuâ penitus munificentiâ obscuraris.

Quare nè singula persequamur, vel unum illud argumento est sanè quàm luculento, te virtuti ac literis promovendis esse natum, quod tam benignè nuper decimarum pariter ac primitiarum solutionem tua ac senatus authoritate, eisdem condonâras. Quod sanè tam benignum facinus, ita sacratissimæ M. tuæ nomen immortalitati commendatum consecrarit, ut nunquam, salvis literis, ullâ vel ætatis vel oblivionis injuriâ intercidere poterit. 228

Quod vero nostrarum est partium, sedulò quidem ac pro virili connitemur omnes, ut tanta demum beneficentia digni judicemur: hoc est, ut pro tuis maximè votis literis simus juxta ac morum probitate, insigniter conspicui. Atqui in tales poterimus viros minori cum negotio evadere, si tua nunc tandem Celsitudo non gravabitur, simul et litigiis istis, quæ nobis jamdiu cum vicinis nostris intercesserint, finem imponere, simul et privilegia nobis restituere, quæ ab illustrissimis olim majoribus tuis nostræ, in publicam studiorum utilitatem, Academiæ sunt concessa. Quæ ut propediem restituas, tuam Sublimitatem tam vehementer obsecramus, quàm iis ad communem studiosorum tranquillitatem maximè indigemus. Quod si sacratissima M. tua nostris annuere

precibus, vel querelis potius justissimis, pro suâ bonitate dignabitur, quod unum præstare possumus, Deum Opt. Max. pro tua salute perpetuis interpellare precibus non cessabimus. In quo valeat tua Celsitudo quam diutissimè. Oxoniæ, pridie Idus Novembris.

Number LXXXVIII.

The judgments of divers Bishops and Doctors in commission, concerning Confirmation, under these three questions;

First, Whether this sacrament be a sacrament of the New Testament instituted by Christ, or not?

Secondly, What is the outward sign, and invisible grace, that is conferred in the same?

Thirdly, What promises be made, that the said graces shal be received by this sacrament?

The judgment of Edward Lee, Archbishop of York.

Cleopatra, E. 5.

THAT the sacrament of Confirmation was institute by Christ, we be induced to think, for so much as the Apostles used the same, and that with diligence, as appeareth in the Acts, the 8th and the 19th chapters, and gave the same by tradition to the Church. And that the Apostles durst not have taken upon them, as of themself, to institute any sacrament. And this is the opinion of S. Clement, in the 4th epistle: whose words be these:

Omnibus ergo festinandum est sine mora renasci Deo, et demum consignari ab Episcopo, i. e. septiformem gratiam Sp. Sancti percipere; quia incertus est uniuscujusque exitus vitæ. Quum autem regeneratus fuerit per aquam, et post modum septiformi Spiritus gratia ab Episcopo, ut memoratum est, confirmatus, (quia aliter perfectus esse Chris-
229 *tianus nequaquam poterit, nec sedem habere inter perfectos, si non necessitate, sed incuriâ aut voluntate remanserit, ut a B. Petro accepimus; et cæteri sancti Apostoli, præcipiente Domine, docuerunt,) Deinde ex operibus bonis ostendat in se similitudinem ejus, qui eum genuit, Patris.*

By which words of S. Clement the first question is answered, that is, That this sacrament is institute, *præcipiente Domino.*

And by the same words appeareth answer to the second question, That the outward sign is *consignatio facti ab Episcopo;* and that the graces conferred in the sacrament be the graces called, *The seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.*

And hereby may appear the answer to the third question, That forsomuch as the seven graces be given in this sacrament, that these graces be his promise, by whose commandment the sacrament is institute.

Again, S. Dionyse, whose book, *De Ecclesiæ Hierarchia,* is wholly grounded upon the traditions apostolic, as himself avoweth, maketh mention of this sacrament, as had in use in the time of the Apostles, after the rite of the Church, that is used now with chrismation. Wherfore since the said Apostles, as afore is said, durst not institute any sacrament, we must needs think, that the institution came from Christ, the declaration and tradition from the Apostles.

And to the second question answer may be made by the words of S. Dionyse, which saith, that this sacrament is, *unctio perficiens et confirmans post regenerationem, et quod conjungit perfectum et consummatum Spiritui Sancto: et quod per hoc sacramentum datur Sp. Sanctus.*

And so answer may be made to the third question, as afore, That since the H. Ghost is given by the conferring of this sacrament, that the proces of grace in this sacrament cometh from him, by whose authority it is institute.

S. Augustin also writing *contra Petilian. unum Donatistam,* saith, *Quod sacramentum chrismatis in genere visibilium sacramentorum est sacrosanctum, sicut et Baptismus.* Which cannot be true, unles the sacrament of Confirmation be institute by Christ.

Also, S. Dionyse, S. Clement, and S. Fabyan say, that the sacrament of Confirmation is a sacrament performing [perfecting] the sacrament of Baptism. And S. Dionys saith, that he that is baptized is but initiate, that is, entred, and that by chrysmation of the Bishop he is made perfect. And so also S. Clement, S. Melchiades, and S. Urban say, that afore the receiving of this sacrament, *baptizatus non est plenè Christianus.* By which thing it appeareth, that the sacrament of Confirmation cannot be institute by mans authority. For no man can perform the work of God.

And need must hereof follow, that the said sacrament being institute of Christ, the effect therof must be grace. For he doth nothing institute, but for our ghostly wealth. And therfore he doth assist his sacrament, as S. Cyprian saith, *Hic omnibus Ecclesiæ sacramentis interest, quæ ipse efficit et consummat.* But forasmuch as S. Clement, S. Melchiades, and S. Urban say, that *baptizatus non est perfectè nec plenè Christianus, priusquam confirmetur ab Episcopo;* least any men should hereof conceive error, that if (without
230 contempt of this sacrament) any man already baptized, and forthwith dying, should not be taken for a ful and perfect Christen man, as to the effect of the sacrament, the holy Bishop of Rome and Martyr Melchiades words do wel avoid: which be these; "The H. Ghost which descended "vpon the waters of baptism, gave ful innocency at the "font: but in confirmation it giveth increase to grace. "And for because while we live in this world we must pas "among our invisible enemies in great danger, therfore in "Baptism we be regenerate to life; after Baptism we be "confirmed and strengthned to fight: in Baptism we be "cleansed; after Baptism we be strengthned. And altho "to them that shal strait pas out of this world the benefit "of regeneration doth suffice; yet to them that shal live, "the helping of confirmation is necessary. Regeneration by "it self saveth; Confirmation armeth and strengthneth to "fight," &c. And after this maner the saying of the Council of Orleans be understonde, that *he that is baptized shal never be a Christen man, unles he be chrismed by the confirmation of the Bishop.* And so by the words of the same S. Melchiades, among other things, doth appear, that one special benefit of the sacrament of Confirmation is ghostly strength to fight. Which effect is also shewed by divers other writers.

The judgment of Tho. Goodrich, Bishop of Ely.

I. *Whether this sacrament be*, &c.

As touching this sacrament of Confirmation, as it is now used, there is no expres mention made in the N. Testament of the institution therof by Christ. But the holy and antient Fathers hath taken it for a sacrament of the N. Testament; grounding themselves upon the Acts of the Apostles.

II. *What is the outward sign*, &c.

The outward sign is imposition of hands, or the anoynting with chrism, and the prayer. And yet it is not to be doubted, but the receivers of this sacrament receive such graces as be necessary for them, according to the promise of Christ made unto the Church, and to the Ministers of the same. Even as it pleaseth him, *qui dividit singulis prout vult*, as saith S. Paul.

III. *What promises be made*, &c.

Responsum est supra. Altho that confirmation, as it is now used in the Church, hath no special promise of God expressed in Scripture therto annexed, yet certain it is, that imposition of hands was a sacrament ministred of the Apostles to them which were baptized; wherby they received the gifts of the H. Ghost invisible, and to the confirmation of their faith, and strength of that which they had professed before in Baptism.

Which imposition of hands derived from the Apostles times, was not only given to men of years and discretion, first examined by the Bishop, before the congregation, of the articles of their faith, and promptnes to profes the same 231 against al persecutors therof: but also to infants and yonglings: following the example of Christ, which put his holy hands upon the infants, prayed for them, and blessed them.

As touching the ministry of this sacrament, forsomuch as in the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth, that the Apostles *imponebant manus*: and not Philip, which baptized the Samaritans; therfore I think that the Bishops, which be called the successors of the Apostles, be the convenient Ministers. For so the use hath obtained from the begining, saith Innocent; which was long before Gregories time; which seemeth rather to permit that unto Priests for the avoiding of slander, than that it should be their office indeed to confirm.

The judgment of Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester.

Laus Christo.

For as myche as the elder Fathers of the Catholic Chyrche hitherto hath takyn these sacramental rites and godly ceremonies, that ys to say, Confirmation, Order, Wedlock, and Extreme Unction, to be sacraments of the new law, and to be ordenyd by Christ unto special effects of grace, the which ys required in every sacrament; and now, through more diligent search of Scripture than hertofore hath byn used, are brought in question; lest peradventure between these two opinions, the Catholic Chyrche mought fal from the upright and true knowledg of God and his ordinance, hyt can be no less than our dutys, to whom ys committed the charge spiritual of the said Chyrche, to search the truth herof, and to set out syche doctrine, that the simple and unlearnyd people may be instructyd, what and wherin standeth the verity of the said rites and godly ceremonies: considering that hyt hath pleased the Kings Highnes to command us to the same.

Christ yn the xi. chapter of Mark, wheras he had put out buyers and sellers out of the temple, and said, *Nolite facere domum Patris mei domum negotiationum;* then came unto him the High Priests and the Scribys, saying, *In quâ potestate hoc facis?* And he said, *Interrogabo et vos unum sermonem. Baptismus Johannis, e cœlo erat, an ex hominibus?* At the which question, as astonied, they thought yn themself, *Yf we say, that hyt came from hevyn, he shal or wol say, Why do not you beleve yn hyt? If we say, Yt came by the techynge of men, then the people wyl be offendyd and slawnderyd, that taketh Joan as a true prophet.* Now let us expownd thys text. First, the text techeth us, that afore we can enter to this question, *Baptismus Johannis*, &c. the word of God must drive out of the temple

al buyers and sellers of dignities and benefices, promotions and advantages, that they may perceive the power of God speaking to us and them yn his Scripture, as the High Priests did then perceive him in his deed. Then shal you soon perceive them that shal say, *In quâ potestate hoc facis?* To this purpose your question, *Baptismus Johannis*, &c. The Baptism of John was not a sacrament of the new law ordeyned to endure from tyme to tyme, but ordeyned and 232
sent from God by hys Prophet to bryng the infant Chyrche to the knowledg of Christ, to be the readyer to beleve his hygh mysteries and sacraments, that he afterward openyd not only to the Jews, but to al that beleved or shuld beleve in hym. And for thys was imposition of hands ordeynyd, not to contynue in that effect as it dyd in the begynning of the infant Chyrche, but to bryng the baptizyd people unto a ready dysposition to receive the gifts of the H. Ghost in visible synys. The which visible synys are now so far out of sight, that we nother se them, nother fele them by ony confirmation, that we reseve now in the Chyrche. More saith Durand, that *Baptism is sufficient in time of peace. Although Confirmation were requisite in time of persecution, yet we read of many that without this confirmation the Chyrche useth in oyl, as Peter, Paul, and other the Apostles, yea and many others, that without confirmation hath stande to death before the persecutors, baptized in their own bloud. As for example, loke on Emerenciana*, &c.

Then this sacramental rite or godly ceremony, the which is to be judged no less than a godly ordinaunce, was not of syche necessitie, nother of syche effect, as it is taken for this time, as afterward shal be shewyd. Wherfore as Christ moved this question to the High Priests and Scrybbys, so is thys question purposyd unto us, Whether that confirmation in oyl, with this word, *Consigno te*, &c. be of Christs or of mannys techyng. Yf yt be of Christs, beleve yn yt; yf of mannys techyng, say not, *Timemus plebem.* For truth must be truth, and though the world wholly resist yt, and the headers of that truth that God techyth cannot escape just judgment. But that yt ys of Christ, S. Tomas in the third part of hys Summs Q. LXXII^{a}. Ar^{o}. 1^{o}. ad 7. saith, *Christus instituit hoc sacramentum non exhibendo, sed promittendo.* Where he grauntyth that Christ did not indede institute this sacrament, but did promise yt. For the which he bryngeth a text of Joh. 16. chap. *Si non abiero, Paracletus non veniet ad vos*, &c. - - - this, how much yt makyth for this purpose that confirmation in oyl, &c. is a sacrament of the new law, and that yt geveth *augmentum gratiæ*, or strength against persecution, there is nothing les meant therin.

Truth yt ys, that the H. Gost geveth thys, but we daily see, that they that are now confyrmyd lackyth much of the strength that dyvers had that never recevyd syche confirmation. And where he and Durand with others alledgeth Melchiades, *Ad Hispaniarum Episcopos*, though he be denyed of some, yet graunt yt, that he sayth so, then have you provyd, that a man sayth so, and not Christ. But he alledgeth the Acts of the Apostles, that Peter and Johan leyd their hands upon the people of Samary, that had recevyd baptism, and therwith they recevyd the H. Gost. Truth yt ys, that they dyd so; and so was the Holy Gost gevyn: but there ys no promyse, that as often as we do thys, that then he or she, that we do so unto, furthwith al shal receve the H. Gost with syche gyfts as the Samaritanes dyd. And yet yt ys necessary, that we have syche promyse afore that we should make a doctrine to the people, that they shal beleve, that every man that ys confyrmyd shal inevitably (al thyngs done that ys usyd to be done by Mynisters of the Chyrche) receve the H. Gost in such effects.

233 More, yf we stand in contention herein, and say, that though we have no expres wretyn word for thys, yet we have the unwretyn verity; surely then have we a large garden to gather what we lyst, and approve al thyngs for sacraments that the Fathers hath receved, and beryth a signification of holynes; as holy asshys, holy plame, [palm,] holy water, &c. and shal so increse to an infinite nomber without nede of sacraments.

And more, Where there ys alledgyd S. Denys in Qto. Cœlestis Hierarchiæ, *Est quædam perfectiva operatio, quam* *duces nostri, quos Apostolos vocant, chrismatis hostiam nominant;* I graunt that Denys there speakyth of the *creme,* but not of syche sacrament of creme, that the Chyrche now usyth. Wherfore I graunt, that the use of creme came from the Apostles, but not with doctrine, that whosoever recevyth yt, recevyth yn it *septiformem Spiritum.*

Wherfore, I suppose, that thys holy rite and godly ceremony began by holy Fathers, to examyne the feith of them that were baptized infants, when that they shuld come to yeres of discretion, as my Lord of Harfords [Herefords] boke more evidently [sheweth;] and then, *per verbum et orationem, et impositionem manuum,* confyrmyd that feith which they did confes with their mouths. And thys ys in my judgment not to be dispisyd, but to be allowyd and approvyd, yea although that syche Mynisters take therunto holy oyl, as they do now at thys day.

The judgment of Longland, Bishop of Lincoln.

Ad primam quæstionem. Confirmatio est sacramentum novæ legis, et institutum a Christo.

Probatio. Primò, testimonio Fabiani Martyris, Clementis et Dionysii.

Confirmatio dat gratiam.

Secundò. Quod conferat gratiam, docent loci Act. 8. et 19. Quos omnes interpretes de confirmatione intelligunt. Et prætereà Origenes, lib. I. Peri Archon, capite 3. Augustinus lib. 15. De Trinitate. cap. 26. Beda, Act. 10. Chrysostom et Theophylactus, super initio G. cap. ad Hebræos. Augustinus lib. 2. Contra Literas Petiliani Donatistæ. cap. 19.

Signa Externa.

Ad secundam quæstionem. Impositio manuum. Consignatio crucis in fronte, adhibito etiam chrysmatè.

Probatio. Manuum *impositio* habetur expressè ex Actis Apostolorum. *Consignationem* cum chrysmate, Fabianus et Dionysius aiunt se ex Apostolis accepisse, ex traditione divina.

Promissio.

Promissionem sanctam huic sacramento citat Petrus, 2. Act. ex Joele, cap. 2. *Et erit in novissimis diebus, dicit*

Deus, Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri, &c.

234 *The judgment of Capon, alias Salcot, Bishop of Bangor.*

1a. Quest. *Whether this sacrament be of the N. Testament, instituted by Christ, or not?*

Thanswere. This sacrament is a sacrament of the N. Testament; thus meaning instituted, (since the tyme of the N. Testament preached,) not of Christ, so far as we can know by Scripture, but of the Fathers of the Church.

2da. Quest. *What is the outward sign, and what be the invisible graces promised in this sacrament?*

Thansw. That the outward signes be the unctions with chrism, and certain words therunto appointed. The invisible graces promised by Scripture, we can find none: but by Doctors we find, that therby is given a ghostly strength to confes boldly faith, and to resist the temptations of the adversaries.

3ia. Quest. *What promises be made, that the said graces shal be received by this sacrament?*

Thansw. Promise made by Scripture we find none. The Doctors write, that by this sacrament be received the graces above mentioned.

The judgment of Stokesly, Bishop of London.

The first question, *Whether the sacrament of Confirmation be a sacrament of the N. Testament?* &c.

To this I answer, That it is.

The second question, *What is the outward sign and the invisible graces?* &c.

To this I answer, That the words *Signo te signo sanctæ crucis, et confirmo te,* &c. with the consignation, with the cream, imposition of hands of the Prelats, be the signes: and the increase of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and especially of fortitude, to speak, shew, and defend the faith, and to suffer for the same in case need be, [be the invisible graces.]

The third question, *What promises be made of the said graces?*

I answer, That the facts and deeds that be expressed in the books of the Apostles, with the effects ensueing, by the imposition of their hands upon them that before had received remission of their sins, joined with the promises of Christ made to his Church, and the continual belief of the university of the same Catholick Church, from the time of the Apostles hitherto, without contradiction of any man, (ignorants and suspects of heresy only excepted,) maketh us, and in my opinion (without prejudice of other mens opinions) 235 ought to suffice to make al men, that hath promised to believe the Catholick Church, assuredly to think, that God hath made the promises of the said grace.

Ego Joannes London. sic respondeo, fretus authoritate, et testimonio antiquissimorum, eorumque doctissimorum pariter ac sanctissimorum virorum, et præcipuè sanctæ matris nostræ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ: cui etiam in non expressis in sacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam scriptis, fides adhibenda est: nisi tam de baptismo parvulorum, quam de perpetua Deiparæ Virginis integritate, et id genus compluribus, quibus sine salutis periculo nemo discredit, licebit salva fide contradicere.

The judgment of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Whether Confirmation be instituted by Christ?

Respon. There is no place in Scripture that declareth this sacrament to be instituted of Christ.

First, For the places alledged for the same be no institutions, but acts and deeds of the Apostles.

Secondly, These acts were done by a special gift given to the Apostles, for the confirmation of Gods word at that time.

Thirdly, The said special gift doth not now remain with the successors of the Apostles.

What is the external sign?

The Church useth *chrisma* for the exterior sign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

What is the efficacy of this sacrament?

The Bishop, in the name of the Church, doth invocate the H. Ghost to give strength and constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed. So that the efficacy of this sacrament is of such value as is the prayer of the Bishop, made in the name of the Church.

> [a] *Hæc respondeo, salvo semper eruditiorum et Ecclesiæ orthodoxæ judicio.*

[a] This is writ with the Archbishop's own hand; the rest above is the hand of his Secretary.

The judgment of Dr. Wotton, sometime Dean of Canterbury and York.

To the first part of the question I say, That confirmation is a sacrament of the N. Testament.

To the second part I say, That other it is instituted by Christ, or else not inspired the Apostles by the H. Ghost.

236 To the second question I say, That the outward sign of confirmation is the touching and marking of the forehead by the hand of the Minister to that sacrament deputed. And the invisible grace is a corroboration, or a strengthning and encouraging of him that receiveth the said sacrament, to resist his ghostly enemy; and the more willingly and boldly to confes the name and the crosse of Christ.

The third question dependeth on the first and second.

The judgment of Dr. Barbar, sometime Advocate in the Arches.

Ad primam. Credo non liquere ex Scriptura de institutione; sed ex apostolicis Ecclesiæ traditum existimo.

Ad secundam. Credo manus impositionem esse signum; oleum additum esse, quemadmodum fit in Baptismo, non ad sacramenti essentiam.

Ad tertiam. Credo non apparere certam promissionem gratiæ in Scripturis. Nihilominus Sp. Sanctum dari credo, et ita credere piissimum duco.

> *Hæc respondeo, salvo Ecclesiæ orthodoxæ judicio. A qua recedere non intendo, siquicquam responsum sit aliter quam ista judicaverit.*

The judgment of Dr. Bell, Archdeacon of Glocester.

First, of the first. That Confirmation is a sacrament of the N. Testament to me appeared most true, not only by a decree of Melchiades, De Consecrat. Dist. v. c. 2. *cum aliis ibidem.* And many oder great and antient authors; S. Jerome contr. Lucifer. Basil. De Sp. Sancto. Euseb. in Hist. Ecclesiastica, lib. vi. c. 34. But also by the universal consent and use of the holy Catholick Church; so receiving, observing, and even from the beginning to this present time continuing; and finally, for that, meseemeth, it is hole graunted without controversy of this honorable Council.

And that furdermore it is institute by Christ, I take it; thinking verily that none oder might institute a sacrament, as we here take and use the name of a sacrament, to be a sensible sign, having an infallible assistance of grace of the H. Ghost: and so hath both the sign and the very cause thereof.

To the second. The *outward sign* of this sacrament is the sign of the cross in the childs forehead by the Bishops [hand] with holy creame; and the form of the words, *viz. Ego confirmo te,* &c. then spoken, as more evidently appeareth and fully in ca. - - *Sacr. Unctione:* according in al parts to some parts of the Scripture.

Where also is declared the *invisible grace* given therby. And I believe verily the seven yefts of the H. Ghost.

To the third question. Meseemeth, that the general promise that our Saviour made to his disciples, might for an answer suffice every good Christian, although there were no oder, as indeed many is. For the general promise is this, 237

[*The rest is wanting.*]

The judgment of Dr. Wolman, Archdeacon of Sudbury, and afterwards Dean of Wells.

Urbanus. Omnes fideles per manuum impositionem Episcoporum Sp. Sanctum post baptismum accipere debent, ut pleni Christiani - - - mantur quia cum Sp. Sanctus infunditur - - - ad prudentiam et constantiam.

Melchiades. Sp. Sanctus, qui super aquas baptismi salutiferas descendit, lapsu tribuit ad innocentiam in confirmatione, augmentum præstat gratiæ. Et quia in hoc mundo

victuris tota ætate inter visibiles hostes et pericula gradiendum est, in baptismo regeneramur ad vitam, post baptismum confirmamur ad pugnam. In baptismo abluimur: in confirmatione roboramur. Et quamvis continuò transituris sufficiant regenerationis beneficia, tamen victuris necessaria sunt confirmationis auxilia. Regeneratio per se salvat mox in pace baptismi vel seculi recipiendos. Confirmatio armat ad agonis hujus mundi prælia reservandos. Qui verò post baptismum acquisita innocentia immaculata pervenerint ad mortem, confirmantur morte, quia jam non possunt peccare.

Quidam. Sacramentum non ab aliis, nisi a summis sacerdotibus perfici possit. Nam si aliter præsumptum fuerit, irritum habeatur et vacuum, et inter ecclesiastica nunquam reputabitur sacramenta.

Rabanus. Baptizatus ungitur in capite et fronte: in capite per Sacerdotem, in fronte per Episcopum. Prima est in summitate capitis; et per eam significatur super ipsum Spiritus Sancti descensio ad habitationem Deo consecrandam: et hoc in baptismo. Secunda per impositionem manuum Episcopi; per quam septiformis gratia per Sp. Sanctum cum plenitudine sanctitatis et scientiæ et virtutis venire in hominem declaretur.

Ambrosius de Sacramentis. Accepisti mysterium, hoc est, unguentum super caput. Quare super caput? Quia sapientis sensus in capite ejus. Sequitur spirituale signaculum, quod audîsti legi hodie, quod post fontes superest, quo perfectio fiat, quum ad invocationem sacerdotis Sp. Sanctus infunditur.

The judgment of Dr. Marshal, Archdeacon of Nottingham.

Confirmatio est sacramentum novæ legis a Christo institutum, et traditum Ecclesiæ per Apostolos.

Datur per impositionem manuum, hoc est, consignationem; confert septiformem gratiam, et præcipuè robur, ut resistatur peccato.

Habet et promissionem generalem, qua Christus adsistit suis sacramentis.

The judgment of Dr. Cliff, Chantor of York, afterwards Dean of Chester. 238

1. Est sacramentum novæ legis, institutum a Christi Apostolis id tradentibus.

2. Exterius signum est impositio manuum Episcopi signantis confirmandum signaculo sanctæ crucis in fronte cum chrismate.

3. Per hoc sacramentum anima fidelis roboratur et confortatur adversus inimicos spirituales per septiformem gratiam Sp. Sancti tunc confirmato infusam.

The judgment of Dr. Edmunds, Master of Peter house, in Cambridge.

Confirmation is not a sacrament of the new law, instituted by Christ by any expressed word in h. Scripture, but only by the tradition of the Fathers.

Confirmation hath not any outward sign expressed by h. Scripture. But Doctors saith, That the holy chrisme, and certain words said by the Bishop, that is to say, *Consigno te signo crucis, Confirmo te chrismate salutis in nomine Patris et Filii et Sp. Sancti,* be the outward signes.

Confirmation hath no promise of any invisible grace by Christ, by any expressed word in h. Scripture. But Doctors saith, By it is received strength to fight ayenst the spiritual enemies.

There be no promises of grace made by Christ to them that receive confirmation.

The judgment of Dr. Downes, Chancellor of the church of York.

Confirmatio est sacramentum novæ legis, institutum a Christo, traditum per Apostolos.

Et per illud confertur septuplex Sp. Sancti gratia, et præcipuè robur, ut resistamus peccato.

Cui signum est impositio manuum, et consignatio.

Promissio generalis, quod Christus assistit iis qui per ipsum instituti sunt.

The judgment of Dr. Marmaduke.

Whether this sacrament, &c.

This is a sacrament of the N. Testament: institute of Christ.

What is the outward sign? &c.

The outward sign is imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross with holy oyl in the forehead. And the graces
239 invisible is the H. Ghost, in whom is al graces, and especially consolation and strength.

What promises be made? &c.

Christ promiseth the Church to be with them, and to assist them to the end of the world. And in the 8th cap. of the Acts, was by the Apostles given the H. Ghost; and also in the 19th of the Acts. Which places and Christs promise no Christian men need doubt, but ought to believe the graces and gifts of the H. Ghost to be given in this sacrament.

The judgment of another Divine, nameless.

The first article.

Whether this sacrament, &c.

That authority that it hath must needs be of the N. Testament, or else it could have no place among Christen men. Forsomuch as al ceremonies of the Old are abrogated. And as to the second, necessarily it followeth, that needs it must have its institution of Christ. For the New Testament is only of Christ. The institution of Christ may be either by express Scripture, or else by the authority of Scripture it may be institute, though that the Scripture by expres words do not institute the same. And this appeareth not only by al the old Fathers in divers matters, but also by the words of Melancthon, in his article of the baptism of children. When as he hath for the proving of the said article this formal rule, that is to say, *Tho that by expres Scripture it be not instituted, yet it is received and used by the authority of Scripture, joining with the same the perpetual consent of the universal Church: which in al* *things hath been at al times of a great estimation by the doctrin of al the Fathers*, as Melancthon approves before, not dissenting from the old Fathers, as he protestes divers times.

The place of Scripture, that giveth authority to this sacrament, seemeth to be the viiith chapt. of the Acts, as Bede expresly understandeth the same, and Rabanus after him, and Erasmus also.

Wherfore tho it have not so great mystery, nor yet be not of so great necessity and vertue as the other sacraments are, yet is it reverently to be observed.

The second article.

What is the outward sign? &c.

The outward sign is the imposition of the hand, for that is expressed in Scripture. The oil or the chrism are the institutions of the Fathers, as I suppose, for the good signification that oyl hath in Scripture, that is to say, comfort, gladnes, the H. Ghost, and the gifts of the H. Ghost.

The invisible graces are gifts of the H. Ghost; gifts of constancy, strength, and such other: but in what mesure is only in the knowledg of Almighty God. The H. Ghost, 240 that is to say, gifts of the H. Ghost, were given by the imposition of the hands at that time visible; as gifts of tongues, and such other. As at that time it was necessary to have extern gifts and miracles, to teach expresly, and confirm the faith, which now are not necessary. The imposition of the hand with prayer of the Bishop, (as without fail in my opinion there was never imposition of hands without prayer,) by virtue of Gods word, giveth the former gifts.

And, as I suppose, to give a form of a sacrament, because there should not want *elementum*, required peradventure in such a sacrament, as in baptism water, the Fathers added oyl.

But, I suppose, as in the sacrament of Penance, witnessing so Melancthon, the absolution which is don by imposition of the hand with the word, is the sacrament in that case; so in this case the imposition of the hand, with the prayer of the Minister, is the sacrament.

The third article.

What promises, &c.

I know none other promises than are made in the said viiith chap. of Acts, supposing the Apostles executed that thing. By the which there were at that time apparent tokens of the gifts of the H. Ghost, so taught by Christ their Master, that it might remain a perpetual doctrin to their successors in like maner to use the same.

The judgment of Dr. Robinson.

Confirmationis institutio.

Confirmationem, consignationem, sive sacramentum chrismatis, a Christo institutum esse, autores Fabianus Martyr, et Clemens comes Pauli, Dionysius Pauli discipulus, Aug. 15. De Trin. cap. 26. Bed. Act. 10. Cyprianus in sermone De Unctione Chrismatis, et aliis sacramentis.

Signa externa confirmationis.

Oratio, impositio manuum, signum crucis impressum fronti, adhibito etiam chrismate.

Signum.

Signum quid sit docet Aug. 2. De Doct. Christian. cap. 1.

Oratio.

Quomodo datur Sp. Sanctus per orationem docet idem Aug. lib. 15. De Trin. cap. 26.

Impositio manuum.

Hæc multiplex fuit. Nam imponebantur manus confirmandis, Act. 8. Ordinandis Presbyteris, 1 Tim. 4. Infirmis curandis, Marc. 16. Et Hæreticis redientibus ad Ecclesiam; et correctis, ut est apud Cyprian. et Aug. Et hæc traditio apostolica est.

241 *Impositio manuum in confirmandis.*

Per manuum impositionem gratiam dari satis declarant loci, Act. 8. et 19. Origenes, lib. 1. Περὶ 'Αρχῶν, cap. 3. Aug. lib. 15. De Trin. cap. 26. Beda, Act. 10. Chrysost. et Theophylactus super initio 6. cap. ad Hebræos.

Signum crucis in fronte.

De hoc Aug. in Dialogo Ecclesiæ et Synagogæ. A quo

vocatur *signum salutis*, ex Ezech. 9. et Apocal. 7. 13 et 14. et Hieron. super Ezech. 9.

Sacrum chrisma.

Hoc a χρίζειν nomen habet, quod significat *ungo*. Unde et Christum dictum esse autores Cyprianus in sermone De Unctione Chrismatis, et Aug. lib. 2. contr. literas Petiliani Donatistæ. Ubi et confirmationem chrismatis sacramentum appellat. Quin et gratia Sp. Sancti 1 Jo. 2. ter vocatur χρίσμα. Christus ipse docuit fieri chrisma, ut est autor Fabianus Martyr in Epistola ad Orientales Episcopos: Cyprian. in sermone De Unctione Chrismatis; et Dionysius de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, cap. 4.

Christum aut Apostolos usos fuisse chrismatis unctione, nec constanter, aut convinci potest aut negari, quando in sacris literis non habeatur expressum; quum tamen Fabianus Martyr, et Dionysius asserant se ab Apostolis per manus accepisse. Testatur et Joannes, cap. ult. *Multa esse quæ fecit Jesus, quæ non scripta sunt.* Præthereà, quæ Lucas in Act. apostolicis ab Apostolis gesta scribit, acta sunt ante annum 30^{um} a passione Christi; cum tamen aliquot ab Apostolis superstites erant post excidium Hierosolymitanum. Ad hæc Damascenus, lib. 4. cap. 13. Orthodoxæ fidei ait multa esse tradita ab Apostolis, quæ non sunt scripta; ut est adoratio ad orientem, &c. Quin et Cyprian. in ablutione pedum; Aug. ad Januarium; Tertullianus in lib. De Coronâ Militis, astringunt nos ad traditiones Apostolorum, ad Concilia universalia ritè coacta, ad legitimas ac receptas consuetudines, non minus quam ad ipsas sacras literas.

Efficacia et virtus confirmationis.

Vis hujus sacramenti est exhibitio gratiæ Sp. Sancti ad robur ac constantiam in bono, ad reluctandum malo, ad extinguendum fomitem, ad augmentum gratiæ, &c. Clemens ait in hoc sacramento dari septiformem gratiam Sp. Sancti; Cyprian. sapientiam, intellectum, consilium, fortitudinem, scientiam, pietatem, timorem, per hoc sacramentum, divinitus, cœlitus, et supernis inspirationibus infundi testatur.

Sic Aug. lib. 15. De Trin. cap. 26. Orig. Περὶ 'Αρχῶν, lib. 1. cap. 3. Chrys. et Theophyl. vi. ad Hebræos.

Objectio.

Siquis objiciat donum linguarum, et prophetiam, cæte-
raque dona Sp. Sancti, quæ olim per Apostolos dabantur,
cessasse, et proinde gratiam, per impositionem manuum,
jam non dari, respondeat Aug. lib. 3. De Bapt. contra Do-
natistas, his verbis: *Neque enim temporalibus et sensibilibus*
miraculis attestantibus per manus impositionem modo datur
242 *Sp. Sanctus, sicut antea dabatur, ad commendationem rudis*
fidei, et Ecclesiæ primordia dilatanda. Quis enim nunc
expectat, ut hi, quibus manus ad accipiendum Spiritum im-
ponitur, repentè incipiant linguis loqui? Sed invisibiliter et
latenter intelligitur, per vinculum pacis eorum cordibus
divina charitas inspirari, ut possint dicere, *Quoniam cha-*
ritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Sp. Sanctum,
qui datus est nobis.

Necessitas confirmationis.

Quantum expediat hoc sacramentum omnibus exhiberi patet [ex] Fabiano. Ex Epistola Cornelii de - - - onato. Ex Clemente. Ex Dionysio. Et ex Aug. lib. 2. contr. Literas Petil. cap. 104.

Traditiones non scriptæ necessariæ ad salutem.

Baptismus infantium, autore Augustino. Non rebaptizandum, qui ab hæretico baptizatur. 'Ομοιούσιον. Perpetua virginitas Mariæ. Apostolos fuisse baptizatos. Quod tamen scriptum non est.

The judgment of Dr. Richard Smith, sometime Public Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

The first question.

Whether confirmation be a sacrament? &c.

I affirm that it is so, and that by the word of Christ written. Not the tables of stone, nor yet the skins of parchment, or any other semblable thing; but in the hearts of the Apostles. The which strait after their Masters ascension used the said sacrament, and left it to the Church

without writing. For these Apostles of Christ, fully and perfectly instructed by him, left sundry and many things to the Church, not putting them in any maner of writing. The which universally received, and alwayes used in the Church, from that time even to these dayes, must and ought to be believed as firmely and stedfastly as any part of the Gospel written; or else these articles subscribed were necessary to be ceased; which to defend is heretical:

I. *Parvulos baptizatos consequi remissionem peccatorum.*
II. *Transubstantiari panem et vinum in Eucharistia.*
III. *Quod Filius in divinis sit consubstantialis Patri.*
IV. *Perpetua virginitas Deiparæ Virginis.*
V. *Quod sint tres Personæ in Divinis.*
VI. *Quod Pater sit ingenitus.*
VII. *Quod Judæi conversi non deberent observare legalia.*
VIII. *Quod missa sit sacrificium.*
IX. *Quod malus Sacerdos potest ministrare sacramenta.*
X. *Quod ab hæreticis baptizati non sunt rebaptizandi.*
Cum id genus aliis multis.

The second question. 243

The outward sign is the imposition of the hands of the Bishop, and the unction of creame used therin. The invisible grace is the sevenfold grace of the H. Ghost, as wisdom, fear, with the rest; and encrease of the grace justification received by Baptism, or the sacrament of Penance, if the taker be in grace.

The third question.

This is not apertly put in writing, but taught the Apostles by Christ, and the Church by them.

The judgment of Dr. Buckmaster, Vicechancellor of Cambridg, in 1528, 1537, *and* 1538.

Sacramentum Confirmationis.

Materia hujus sacramenti est duplex, *propinqua* et *remota.*

Materia *propinqua* est unctio facta in fronte in figura crucis cum chrysmate sanctificato.

Materia *remota* est chrisma composita ex oleo olivæ et balsamo, sanctificatum specialiter ab Episcopo, vel ab alio cui talis sanctificatio committi poterit. Quippe omnia sacra, quæ requirunt ministrum determinatum et sacratum, requirunt etiam materiam sanctificatam, saltem in illo sacro, ubi requiritur materia sensibilis.

Per oleum, quod aliis liquoribus supereminet, designatur charitas. Per balsamum suaviter fragrantem, odor bonæ famæ, qui in confirmato esse debet.

Forma hujus sacramenti est talis: *Consigno te signo crucis, et confirmo te chrysmate salutis, in nomine Patris et Filii et Sp. Sancti.*

Signata in parte determinata, nempe in fronte, in signum quod deponeret omnem erubescentiam ad audacter confitendum Christum.

And here it is to be noted, before the death of our Saviour Christ, there was no confirmation sacramental used. For as S. John saith in his Gospel, *Nondum erat Sp. Sanctus datus, quia nondum erat Jesus glorificatus.* And in another place he saith on this wise, *Expedit vobis, ut ego vadam. Si non abiero, Paracletus non veniet ad vos. Si autem abiero, mittam vobis illum.* And albeit that the Apostles received the H. Ghost before the day of Pentecost, yet did they then first receive him *in signum sacramenti Confirmationis;* that is to say, in token of the sacrament of Confirmation: what time the H. Ghost appeared to them in fiery tongues. Which fiery tongues were a visible and sensible sign of the H. Ghost then sent, and given unto them to confirm and establish them in Christs faith, &c.

And the reason why that the Almighty God used this sign here in this sacrament was this. First, he used the sensible sign of a *tongue*, signifying by the same, that they should be liberal of their tongues to preach the faith of Christ. And again, this figure of a tongue appeared in fire, to signify to them, that they should be hot and fervent in cha-
244 rity; and they should not preach and teach the faith of Christ for any lucre or worldly promotion, but only for the love of Christ, and for the health of their neighbours. And thus did Christ *confirm* his Apostles, giving unto them his

manifold inward graces; and not only outward, as it was then expedient for that time, by such an outward and sensible form or scene, that is to say, a fiery tongue.

But after this, forasmuch as fire cannot be applied unto a mans body without hurt, therfore in his place was taken oyl: which is a thing and a matter next unto burning, and draweth most ny unto the nature of fire; having in it also a mervelous cleannes, which is a quality appropriate unto the fire. Furthermore, in the stead of a tongue, the Church useth balm: and that for this counsil. For as balm hath a good and a sweet savour, and preserveth from corruption, so by the manifold graces, which be here conferred in this sacrament, they that lyveth and worketh according unto the same, hath a sweet and a good savour, of a good name and fame before God, either by confessing and preaching of Christs faith, or else by the strong resistings and vanquishing of his enemyes, the devil, the flesh, and the world. And so is also preserved from the corruption of sin.

And as touching these two, that is to say, oyl and balm, which we called before *materiam hujus sacramenti*, with the holy consecrations of the same, which may be called *mysteria sacramenti*, no doubt but that, as the most ancient Doctors doth write, the Apostles of Christ, by Christs authority, did institute and ordain the same; or else, to speak better, Christ did institute them by the Apostles: although that in the beginning, for a certain season, he might dispense with them, that they should not need to use such matter, but only prayer and imposition of their hands upon such as they did confirm. And although mention of these and such other things, rites, and ceremonies, which our mother the Church useth, not only in the ministration of this sacrament, but also in many of the other, is not had expresly in Scripture; yet be al such to be observed and fulfilled by the order of apostolical tradition. For as S. Aug. writeth in a certain place, *Those things be not mentioned in Scripture which were commonly don, and yet by some things there they may be understanded in the word.* Wherfore S. Gregory, lib. 7. Registr. Epla. 16. saith, *That the order*

De Fid. et Operib. ante Medium.

of antient custom, and the canons of the Church, is an interpreter of al doubts that be not expressed in Scripture.

Wherfore albeit al things, concerning and appertaining unto this sacrament, be not expresly had in Scripture, yet ought we reverently and obediently to accept and receive the same: forasmuch as the Church, that is to say, the whole multitude of Christen people, hath so allowed and received them hitherto.

The promises made unto the receivers of this sacrament.

Apostoli imponebant manus super baptizatos, et acceperunt Sp. Sanctum, Actorum 8. Which thing they never would have attempted, but only by revelation and precept of the H. Ghost. And so that sure hope, which they used in the ministring of this sacrament, doth openly shew and argue, that the H. Ghost had promised unto them, that he would be ready to give his grace unto them which should
245 be confirmed: upon whom, for the same cause, they should lay their hand. And so it appeareth that the H. Ghost, which taught and also commanded the Apostles to use this outward sign, did in like maner make a promise to the worthy receivers of the same.

The inward graces.

Rabanus. *Sp. Sancti gratia ad robur. In unctione Sp. Sanctus descendit ad habitationem Deo consecrandam. In confirmatione verbo ejusdem septiformis gratia cum omni plenitudine sanctitatis et virtutis venit in hominem.* Also Urban saith, that *al faithful Christians, by the imposition of the Bishops hands after baptism, ought to receive the H. Ghost, that they may be found ful Christen men:* that is to say, to have al those things which be profitable unto our health, and perfection of virtue.

Yet we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that when Samaria was converted unto the faith of Christ, Peter and John came thither, and layd their hands upon them that before were baptized of Philip, and prayed for them, that they might receive the H. Ghost: and likewise Paul layd his hands upon them that were baptized at Ephesus, and they received the H. Ghost, in such wise, that the people did speak divers languages, and prophesied. Wherby the consciences - - - - [the Bishops] did use to lay their hands upon them that before were baptized by the Priests, and prayed for them, that they might have the H. Ghost. And that after it was ordained, that al Christian people should after their baptism be presented to their Bishops; to the intent that they laying their hands upon them, and consigning them with holy chrism, should pray for them, that they might be confirmed in the H. Ghost; that is to say, that they might receive such gifts of the H. Ghost, &c.

Number LXXXIX.

Humphrey Monmouth, citizen of London, committed to the Tower for suspicion of heresy, for some books found in his house: his petition to the King's Council.

Unto the most honorable Lord Legate, and Chancellor of England, and to the honorable Councel unto your Sufferain Lord, King Henry VIII. the xix*th day of May, and in the* xx*th yere of his raigne; beseching your Grace, and al my lords and masters, to have pitie on me, poor prisoner in the Towre of London, at your plesure.*

THE xiiiith day of May, and in the yere abovesaid, Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, and Sir William Kingeston, Knight, and of the Kinges noble Counsaill, sent for me unto Sir John Dauncies, and of the same Counsaill; and there they examyned me what letters and what books I receved lately from beyond the seas, and I said, None, nor never had of trewthe. And what exhibition I did give to any bodie beyond the sea. I said, None in three yeres past: and examyned me, whether I was acquaynted with many persons? Of the which I was acquainted with none of them to my knowledge and remembrance. I told them in iiii yeres past I did give unto a Prieste called Sir William Tyndal, otherwyse called Hotchens. And then Sir Thomas Moore and Sir William Kenyston had me home to my house, and

Foxii MSS.

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serched it, and saw al the letters and books in my howse to my knowledg, by my faith: and there they found no lettres that they regarded, nor Ynglish books but five or six printed, the which they regarded not; and they left them with me as they found them. And from thence I went again to Sir John Dauncys, my special good master, and he brought me the same day to the Towre of London, and delivered me unto Sir Edmonde Walsyngham, Kt. and Lyftenant of the Towre.

Upon iiii yeres and a half past, and more, I herde the foresaid Sir William preach ii or iii sermons at St. Donstones in the west, in London; and after that I chaunced to meet with him, and with communication I examyned what lyving he had. He said he had none at all, but he trusted to be with my Lord of London in his service. And therfore I had the better fantasy to him. And afterward he went to my Lord and spake to him, as he told me, and my L. of London answered him, that he had Chaplaines inough, and he said to him, that he would have no more at that tyme. And so the Priest came to me againe, and besought me to help him, and so I took him into my house half a yere: and there he lived like a good Priest, as methought. He studied most part of the day and of the night, at his book; and he would eat but sodden meat by his good wil, nor drink but small single beer. I never saw him weare linnin about him in the space he was with me. I did promys him x*l.* sterling, to praie for my father and mother there sowles, and al Christen sowles. I did paie it him, when he made his exchange to Hamborow. Afterwards he got of some other men x*l.* sterling more, the which he left with me. And within a yere after he sent for his ten pounds to me from Hamborow: and thither I sent it him by one Hans Collenbeke, as I remember is his name, a merchant of the Stilyard. And since I never sent him the value of one peny, nor never wil. I have given more exhibitions to skollers in my dayes, than to that Priest. Mr. Doctor Royston, Chaplen to my Lord of London, hath cost me more than XL or L pounds sterling. And also Mr.

Doctor Wooderal, Provinciall of Friar Austynes, hath cost me as much, or more. Mr. Doctor Watson, Chaplain to the Kings good Grace, hath cost me somewhat, and somewhat I have given to skollers at his request, and to divers priests and fryers: and yf any of those other should chaunce to turn, as that Priest hath done, as God forbid, were I to blame for giving them exhibition?

The foresaid Sir William left me an English book, called *Enchiridion*. The which book the Abbes of Dennye desyred yt of me, and I sent yt to her. And that howse hath cost me more than L pounds sterling. I could reherse many more. I do not say this because I wold be praised, as God knoweth, but bicause your Gr. and my Lords of the Counsell should know that I have spent more for the love 247 of God, after the counsil of good Doctors, than of that one Priest.

Another book I had of the same copie: a Frier of Grenwich desired yt of me, and I gave yt him. I think my Lord of Rochester hath it. I had two books in English wrytten; the one was called the *Pater Noster*, an old book. How yt came to my howse, on my faith I cannot tel; and the other book is called *De Libertate Christiana*. I receved him of one Arnold, a yong man that is gone into Spain to a gentleman whose name is Mr. Woodall, that went with Sir John Wingfeld, Kt. Embassador into Spaine. I delivered those two books to the Father Confessor of Sion. And also I delivered him a book of the N. Testament, the which book my L. of London had. Also, I had a litle treatise, that the Priest sent me, when he sent for his mony. And all those books, save the books of the N. Testament, laye openly in my house for the space of two yeres or more, that every man might rede on them that would, at their pleasure. I never harde priest, nor fryer, nor lay man find any great fault in them. And so I trust in our Lord God, that your good Grace, nor none of my lords and masters of the Kings noble Councel, wil find any great faults in any of them, when it shal please your Gr. or any of the Councel to read them or hear them. And so I trust in our Lord

God I shal be gyltless for any evil books, or any other thing that hath been surmysed wrongfully on me. And yf mine accusers be wel examined, peradventure they should be found more fawlty than I shal be, when the trewth shal be known.

I have shewed the book called *The Enchiridion* to Mr. Doctor Watson, and to Mr. Doctor Stochouse, Parson of Laname, [Lavenham,] in Suffolk, and to many other, that never found fault in him to my knowledg; and to the Father Confessor of Syon, and to Mr. Martyn, Priest and Parson of Totingebeke. And also the other two books, called the *Pater Noster* and *De Libertate Christiana*, I think they looked them most part over, and they found no fault at them. But in one of them, *De Libertate Christiana*, they said, there was in him things somewhat hard, except the reader were wyse. And by my faith there was al the fault that ever I herde of them. If I had thought they had not been good, or put any mistrust in any of them, I would not have shewed them openly to so many men as I did. But mine accusers unto your noble Gr. I think did never read them over; and yf they did, they were to blame, that they had not the order of charity with them. And yf they had shewed me, that they had been nought or evil books, yf they had been lerned, I would have given credence to them, and done them immediately away. And yf I had then kept them, and they had complayned, then I had bene worthy to have bene punyshed. I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgeven my self.

When I harde my Lord of London preach at Pawles Cross, that Sir William Tyndal had translated the N. Testament in English, and was noughtilie translated, that was the first time that ever I suspected or knew any evil by him. And shortely after, al the lettres and treatyes that he sent me, with dyvers copies of books that my servant did write, and the sermons that the Priest did make at St. Dunstones, I did burne them in my howse. He that did write them
248 did se it. I did burne them for fear of the translator, more than for any yll that I knew by them.

If it like your Grace, for this imprisonment I have utterly lost my name, and also my litle credence, which I had, for ever. The which is the greatest loss, and the more sorrow and shame, that ever I had in my liffe. I occupy with divers clothe-men in Suffolk, and in other places. The which have wekely some of them, as they send up their clothes, most have their mony. And yf they fail of their monye, they say, they cannot set the poore folks aworke. There is divers clothe-men, the which I buy al their clothes that they make. And yf they should go offer them to sel to other men now at this time, they wold bid them go and sel where they were wont to sel, when the sale was good: and so the poor men should have great loss. I was wont to sel for most part every yere iiii or v hundred clothes to strangers, which was worth to the Kinges Gr. in his customes, more than though I had shipped over my self five times so many. I was wont betwixt Chrystmas and Whytsontide to sel most part of them. And of trewthe as yet since Chrystmas, I have sold but xxii clothes, nor I send over none, nor no man axeth for none: I praye God amend it, whan yt shal please him. And yf I leye here in prison long, I cannot help my self more, nor none other man, but shal be utterly undon for ever: and if your Gr. be not good and merciful unto me. God is merciful, and wil forgive them that be penitent, and axeth forgivenes. I trust in the Lord I have not offended your Gr. nor none of my lords nor masters of the Kinges noble Counsail, willingly, nor to my knowledg. And yf I have, I beseche your good Gr. and al my lords and masters, to forgive me, as you would that God should forgive you.

Yf I had broken most part of the Ten Commandments of God, being penitent, and confessed, [I should be forgiven,] by reason of certen pardons that I have, the which my company and I had graunted whan we were at Rome, going to Jerusalem, of the holly Father the Pope, *a pœna* and *a culpa*, for certain times in the yere. And that I trust in God I receved at Easter last past; furthermore I receved, when your Gr. was last at Pawles, I trust in God, your pardon of *a pœna* and *a culpa;* the which I beleve verily, yf I had don never so great offences, being penitent and confessed, and axing forgiveness, that I should have forgivenes. Beseching your Gr. and al my lords and masters to pardon me and to forgive me, as I shal be your poor beadman during my liffe: that the bl. Trinitie, and our bl. lady Saint Marie, and al the holly company of heaven, may help you al at your most neede in vertue and grace, *Amen.* I beseche your Gr. and al my lords and masters, to pardon me of my rude wrytinge and termes. I am unlerned; my witt is no better.

By your poor bedman and prysoner at your Gr.'s plesure,
Humfrye Munmouthe, Draper of London.

In presentia reverendi patris in Christo Cuthberti London Episcopi, Humfridus Monmouth recognovit se scripsisse istas cartas.

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Number XC.

The testament and last wil of Mayster Humphray Monmouth, late citezin and alderman of London.

Foxii MSS. IN the name of God, *Amen.* The xvi. day of the monethe of Novembre, the yere of our Lord God MDXXXVII. and the xxix. yere of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King Henry the Eyght, I, Humphray Monmouth, citezin and alderman of the citie of London, being of whole mynd, and in good and perfect remembraunce, laude and prayse be unto Almyghtye God, make and ordeyne this my present testament, conteyning herein my last wil, in maner and fourme following; that is to say:

Fyrste and principally I commende my soul unto Christ Jesu, my Maker and Redemer, in whom, and by the merytts of whose blessed passion, is al my whole trust of clene remission and forgyvenes of my synnes: and my body to be buryed in the churchyard of the parish church of Alhallowes in Barkynge of London, in such place there where mine executors shal think convenient. *Item,* I wil that my funeral expenses shal be done as hereafter I have specified

and declared, (and none other nor otherwyse,) that is to say, I wil that my body shal be brought to my burial in the morning after my deceass, or shortly after, with four or syxe staff-torches brennynge onely, without any braunches, torches, or herse, and without any *dirige* to be songe or said than; and immediately after my body buryed, I wyl have to preach a sermond eyther Doctor Crome, Doctour Barnes, or els Mayster Tayllour, Parson of Saynt Peters in Cornhyll, to the laude and prayse of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to the settyng forth of his blessed and holy word, and to the declaration and testymony of my fayth towardes the same. And I wyl that my Lord Byshop of Worcester, Doctor Barnes, Doctor Crome, and Mayster Tayllour shal preach in my parysh-church aforesayd, every week two sermonds, tyl they have preached among them xxx. sermonds: and I wyl gyve them for every sermonde xiii*s.* iiii*d.* And yf any of these foresayde persons cannot be there to preach these sermonds, than I wyl that the other supplie his place, that shal be absent; so that after they have begonne to preach, (which I wold have them do immediatly after my buryal,) they shal contynue wekely every weke, tyl the said xxx. sermonds be al preached, except there be an urgent cause, allowed by myn executours and supervisour, to the contrary. And that this thing may be perfourmed the better, I bequethe to eyther of myn especial and syngler good Lords, Syr Thomas Audeley, Knyght, Lord Chauncellour, and Syr Thomas Crumwel, Knyght, Lord Crumwel, a standyng cup of sylver and gylte, of the value of x. pounds, that they may be good Lords to these foresayd preachers, to helpe them and maynteyne them, that they be suffered to preach the forsayd sermonds quietly, to the laud and prayse of Almyghty God, to the settyng forth of my Prynces godly and hevenly purposes, to the utter abolyshyng and extincting of the usurped and false fayned power of the Byshop of Rome. And yf it shal chaunce that these foresayd 250
preachers, or any of them, may not be suffered to preach in my parish-church aforsayde, than I wyl that they

preach these forsayd sermonds in any other church in London, where they shal thynk it best, or most convenyent for them. And I wyl, that at the end of every sermond the quere shal begynne Te Deum, to laud and prayse my Lord Jesus Christ, to gyve hym harty thanks for his hevenly and godly word, and to beseche hym for his tender mercy, and his swete blouds-sake, that he wyl contynue and encrease it dayly more and more in the hertes of his people: and also that it may please his inestimable godly goodnes to maynteyn our sayd Soveraygne Lord the King to further his godly and gracious purposes, *Amen.*

And to every Preest and Clerke belonging to the same church, that wyl help to synge it, to have for his labour ii*d.* or els nothyng. *Item*, I wyl have no mo Preestes and Clerks at my funeral mass, than do serve dayly in our parysh church. And I wyl that every of the sayd Preests and Clerks have his accustomable duty with the mooste. *Item*, I wyl have no bells ronge for me, but onely a peale to the sermond. Nevertheless I wyl that the Clerk and al other poor men have their duty, as moche as though they had ronge. *Item*, At my moneth-mynd, I wyl have nothing done, except it be a sermond. *Item*, I wyl have no more mourners but myn executors, and my mother in law, and myn aunt, Agnes Hurry, &c.

Item, I wyl, that al such dettes and dutyes as I owe of ryght or of conscience, to any person or persons, be wel and truly contented and payd by myn executors hereafter named, or els ordeyned for so to be payd without any delay or contradiction. And after my dettes payd, and my funeral expences performed, I wyl that al my goods, catalls, and dettes, shal be divided into theyr [three] egal parts. Wherof I wyl, that Margery my wyfe shal have one egal part to her own propre use, in name of her purpart, and reasonable part to her of al my sayd goods, cattalls, and dettes, after the laudable custom of the cite of London belonging. And the second egal part of al my sayd goods, cattals, and dettes, I bequethe to Grace and Elizabeth my doughters, and the child now being in the

womb of my sayd wyfe, egally to be devided amongst them, and to be delivered unto them, whan they shal accomplysh and come to theyr lawful ages of xxi. yeres, or els be maryed, &c. And if it fortune any of my sayd children to deceass before they accomplysh theyr said ages, and before that tyme be not maryed, that than I bequethe her part, or his part of them so deceasyng, to the other of them than survyving, to be delyvered unto them whan they shal accomplyshe theyr sayd ages, or else be maried. And if it fortune al my sayd children to deceass, as God it defend, before they accomplysh theyr sayd ages, and before that tyme be not maryed, that than I bequethe as wel al and singler the sayd part and porcion of my sayd children, of my sayd goods, cattals, and dettes, as also my legacy to them hereafter bequethed, to and amongst the children lawfully begotten of the body of . . . . . . Acton, now wyfe of Acton, and daughter of my brother Rychard Monmouth, late of Tynbery, in the county of Worcetor, deceased, to be payd and delyvered to them at lyke ages, and in lyke maner as is appoynted to myn own chyldren, and every chyld lykewyse to be others heire therof. And yf it shal fortune al the chyldren of the said . . . . . . Acton, of her 251
body lawfully begotten, to decease, which God defend, before they come to theyr sayd lawful ages, and before that tyme be not maryed, than I wyl that al theyr sayd parts and porcions of my sayd goods, catalls, and dettes, shal wholly be employed and bestowed in amending and repayring of hygh noyous wayes, nyghe about the citie of London, and to the maryage of poor maydens, by the discretion of myn executours and overseer, yf they be than lyvyng, or els by the discretions of the L. Maior and his bretherne of the citie of London.

And the thirde egal part of al my sayd goods, catalls, and dettes, I reserve unto my self and to myn executours, therwith to perform my legacies and bequestes herafter specifyed, that is to wyt. Fyrst, I bequeth unto my mother in lawe, Maistres Elizabeth Denham, a jewel of the valew of x. pounde. *Item*, I bequethe xxx. pound to be distributed shortly after my decease within the sayd parysh of Alhallowes, and in my ward of the Toure of London, by the discretion of my executours and overseer. *Item*, I bequethe to the sayd Mayster Robert Barnes x. pound and a gowne. *Item*, I bequethe to Christopher Elyot, my servaunt, x. pound, to thintent that he shal instruct myn executours faythfully and truly in al my reckenynges and busines. *Item*, I bequethe to my sayd aunt, Agnes Hurry, a black gowne. *Item*, I bequeth to the Maister, Wardens, and Felyshyp of the Drapers, v. pounde, for a recreation or a dyner amongst them that shal be in theyr lyveres at my buryal. *Item*, I bequeth to every of my servaunts, that shal be in my house and service at the time of my deceas, a gowne, not being black in any wyse. *Item*, I bequethe to the sayd Margery, my wyfe, c. pound of my sayd porcion, to thintent and upon condition, that she in her wydohode by her dede sufficiaunt in the law, shal clearly remyt and release al her ryght, tytle, and interest, that she than shal have, or ought to clayme or have, by reason of her maryage unto me, to, of, and in al and syngler my lands and tenements, and other theyr appurtenances, set, lying, and being within the countie of Hertford, and elswhere within the realm of England. And in case my said wyfe than refuse so to do, and not so release, that than as now, and now as than, I wyl that my sayd legacy so made to her of the said c. pounde shal be voyd and of none effect. *Item*, I wyl that my sayd wyfe shal inhabit and have my house wherin I now dwel in the sayd parysh of Alhallowes, during her wydohode; and as sone and whan as she shal be assured or maryed to any other man, that than I wyl that the lease and termes of yeres of and in the same shal be sold to the most pryce and furderaunce that can be, to the profyt of my sayde chyldren.

The resydue of al my goods, catalles, and dettes, after my dettes payd, my funeralls expences perfourmed, and these my legacies conteyned in this my present testament fulfilled, I wholy gyve and bequeth to my sayd chyldren, equally to be devided amongst them, and to be delyvered unto

them accordyng as I have above wylled and declared, that theyr sayd own porcyons shal be. Provyded alwayes, and it is my very wyl, mynde, and entent, that shortely after my decease, al and syngler my wares, stuff of household, plate, and al other my goods, whatsoever they be, shal be praysed by two indifferent persons, to be named and sworne by the Lord Mayre of London, and his bretherne, for the 252
tyme being. And al and syngler the porcyons therof, appertaining to my sayd chyldren, as wel theyr second part, as my sayd legacy so to them made and bequethed of myn own part, immediately after the sayd appraysing, to be ordered accordyng to the custome of the orphanage of the citie of London, by the Lord Mayre and his bretherne.

Item, I wyl that the yonge men, being free of the felyshyp of Drapers, of London, shal have thoccupyeng of al my sayd chyldrens porcyons and legacies, duryng theyr nonnages, they puttyng in sufficient sureties therfore, according to the sayd custome of the citie of London. And I wyl, and my mynde and entent is, that my sayd father in law, Wyllyam Denham, and Elizabeth his wyfe, or theyr assignes, shal have the kepyng, governaunce, and bryngyng up of my sayd chyldren duryng theyr nonnages.

And of this my present testament, I make and ordeyne the sayd Margery my wyfe, and my sayd father in law, Wyllyam Denham, citezin and alderman of London, myn executours. And I bequeth unto the sayd Wyllyam Denham, for his labour in that behalf, xx. pound and a black gowne. And of thexecution of the same, I make and ordeine the sayd Mayster Robert Barnes overseer. And I utterly revoke and adnul al and every other former testaments, wylles, legacies, bequests, executours, and overseer, by me in any wyse before this tyme made, named, wylled, and bequethed. And I wyl, that this my present testament, togethers with al the legacies, bequests, executours, and overseer, by me herein made, wylled, and bequethed, shal stand and abyde for my very testament, and none other, nor otherwyse. In wytnes wherof to this my present testament and last wyll, I, the sayd Humphray Monmouth, have set my seal: yeven the day and yere fyrst above wryten. These wytnesses, Wyllyam Robyns, Marcer, Wyllyam Carkeke, Scryvener, Wyllyam Strode, Gentleman, and Thomas Parnel, Draper, with other.

Number XCI.

A brief and short instruction given the Curates and Clergy of the diocese of Chichester, by Richard Sampson, Bishop of the same.

Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 294.

FOR so myche that a great part of the quietnes of Christs flock, and the right and godly maner of living according to Gods word and pleasure, with the merciful grace of Almighty God, resteth in the maners of such as hath the care of souls: by whose negligence great disorders and dissensions are grown and encreased, to Gods high displeasure; and, by the furtherance of our ghostly enemy, the Devil, hath caused hatred and malice so to encrease, that in the place of love and cherite, envy and wrath are planted into a great number of hearts: that sorrowful it is for any true Christen man to remember it; so that the rest
253 of the flock are not also without fault; as my duty is, I exhort every good Christen person to remember his own faults, and not to look to myche upon the faults of the Ministers, that he regard not his own: to se a mote in another mans ey, and not a block in his own, as the Gospel teacheth in the viith chapter of Matthew. And yet the offence is much more in the Ministers than in any other. For their debt is greater, and hath a greater count to render for the charge committed unto them, and ought to be *examples in conversation, in cherite, in faith and chastity*, as the Apostle writeth to Timothy in the iiii. chapter. Yet nevertheles it is to be considered, that they are Ministers appointed not by mans authority, but by our master Christ, and his word. For so ought men to take them, *as Ministers of Christ, and distributors of the mysteries of God*, as Saint Pol, in his iiii. chapter, and his First Epistle to the Corinths. Therfore the people of God ought to have a

reverende respect to such as are the Ministers, not for their persons, but for their office, as the Apostle teacheth in the xiii. chapter to the Hebrews. Discrete Ministers ought in such maner also to order themselfe in diligent using their administration with sober, clean, and honest living, that the people might have cause the rather to exteme, love them, and have them in reverence, as the Apostle saith in the ii. chapter of Timothy.

And therfore, to the intent that the Ministers the rather may have continual remembrance better to do their duty, than before times divers hath don, and by their so doing the flock of Christs Church within this dioces may the rather, by their good example, know God, love God and their neibours, and have them as the Ministers of Christ in the better estimation, to follow their good examples in word and deed, following and humbly obeying the high commandments, injunctions, and godly intents of the Kings Majesty, our Soveraign high Governor under God, and supreme Head of this Church of England, I, Richard, Bishop of this dioces of Chichester, humble Minister under God and the Kings said Majesty, in the name of our Lord, charge and enjoyn to every Curate within this dioces, to have in continual remembrance, and with the help of the grace of God, to accomplish these few advisements and injunctions following.

First, That every one of them with al diligence fulfil, and in al points accomplish, the Kings high and godly orders, commandments, and all other injunctions, either made and set forth, or to be made at any time; not so much for fear of the corporal paines, appointed in the same orders and commandments, as for the fear of the displesure of God, and his great punishment against al such as are rebells and enemies to his word. Wherof without fail are al such as doth not obey the high powers and Ministers of his people. The high minister only of God in this realm is the Kings Majesty; to whom we are so bound to obey here under God in earth, that whosoever doth not obey, he purchaseth *his own damnation*, as witnesseth S. Poll in the xiii. chap-

ter to the Romans. This is the pain that we ought to fear above al other corporal pains. For the corporal pains destroyeth and taketh away no more than the uncertain goods, or the mortal body in this world. The other pains destroyeth body and soul into perpetual dampnation. This ought to be dreadful to every Christen person. Not only
254 therfore under these pains al the Curats are bound, with a pure and sincere mind, to obey and execute the Kings high commandments, as is abovesaid; but also every man else being a subject, is bound to the same obedience, and under the same pains in al things, especially in following the judgment of his Highnes, with such counsil as it hath pleased the King to call unto him in his high causes and matters of our religion; and in other good orders, for the quietnes of the people, and the more due ordering of the mysteries of Christs Church. And whoso is not of this mind is not only past al sobriety, discretion, humility, and bounden duty to man, but also resisteth the wil and ordinance of God, to his extreme damnation.

And because it is so complete, so perfect, so good, that the Kings high Majesty hath put forth by his laws and injunctions, that nothing can be wel added to the same, I exhort al Christen people by the words of S. Poll in the 2d chapter to the Philippians, that *if there be in them any consolation in Christ*, that they trust of any spiritual goodnes by him; or *if there be any comfort in fraternal love and cherite* of one with another; *if there be any succor or plesure to be had by the fellowship of the Spirit of Christ; if there be any pity or mercy*, or any good mind in afflictions of one man towards another, which are worldly lovers; by al these, as S. Poll exhorteth the Philippians, I require and exhort by the word of God, al and every good Christen man and woman, to endeavor them self to accomplish the spiritual plesure and goodnes, that the K. M. with his godly intents desireth above al things to have among his people; which is onely to be of one mind in Christs religion, to have the same cheritie of one with another, that they ought to have by the wil, word, and commandment of Almighty God; not dissenting one from another, eschue and abhor al maner of contentions and vainglory, and with al humblenes, with heart and mind, receive the judgments and determinations set forth by the Kings Highnes, and the whole Council of his royal Parlament, or any other by his Highnes. And sure it is, that they that doth in any wise resist, and not humbly receive and obey to these things, either they only think to have the gift of knowledg of the truth above al others, or else of very malice and obstinate heart they refuse to obey against Gods word expresly. Which is so great a presumption of mind, that no worldly wise man can approve it, much les the humble spirit of a Christen man, bound to obey the superior powers by Gods word. And surely they shal have their reward accordingly, if they repent not, both in this world, as manytimes it is Gods plesure to the example of others, or else much more grievously in another world by the dreadful judgment of God.

Secondly and lastly, Forsomuch as that the K. M. is our Sovereign Lord, so that if there were none other cause but that only, every subject is bound by the commandment of God to pray for his King and Prince, as the Apostle teacheth in the second chapter of the First Epistle to Timothy; yet since he is so gracious a Prince, endued with such goodnes, that he hath his special study to the heavenly weal of the souls of his subjects, with the most politic governance of his common wealth, under the pains of the censures of the Church for disobeying the word of God, I require and charge every Priest within this dioces, not only al other times, but especially in his Mas, to have and say, with his 255
heart and mind lift up to God, a special Collect for the prosperous health of his Majesty: and in the same to have a special and an expres remembrance for the preservation of my Lord Prince, Prince Edward, the great inestimable jewel of this realm: that it may please God to encrease him with health of body, and godly vertue of mind, *Amen.*

And nevertheles I require and exhort also every other Christen man and woman, in the time of their prayers, to have like remembrance for his Majesty and my said Lord Prince. Which thing I require and charge every Curate diligently to move and require of the people under his cure.

Number XCII.

Richard, Bishop of Chichester, to the Lord Crumwel; upon an offence taken against him for a sermon preached at Chichester.

Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 298. MY very good Lord, I recommend me unto you: and force now constraineth me to write unto your Lordship, by reason of a report that hath been lately made and spoken abroad by divers, that you should not only not be my good Lord, but also use grievous words against me openly, and some of them much touching my poor honesty. My Lord, it grieved me not a little, and much the more, since that I knew me clear never to have offended you to my knowledg in thought, word, or deed. I know that ye have been my singular good Lord divers times, and in many things; the which shal never be lost for my part to my little power. Wherfore, my Lord, I beseech you that I may have your advertisement, if there hath been ony sinister report against me, os this world is ful of malicious tongues, that I might answer to it. And if that your Lordship think that I have offended you, I pray you, os charity requireth, admonish me therof, that I may know my fault to amend it, or to recompence to my power.

And os concerning mine own preaching, I wil not otherwise teach, God willing, than may be to the wealth of the hearers, and plesure, first I should have said, to God. If there have been ony sinister report of the little sermon that I had at Chichester, upon our Ladies day, the Assumption, I shal gladly answer to it. I suppose in my little mind, I spake nothing, but that, if ye had been present, ye would have been very wel content with it. And os concerning ony other mans preaching that is of my dioces, if I shal know his evil preaching, I shal endeavour me to reform him, or else to bring forth his fault, that it may be corrected in example of others. My good Lord, I shal use no fawning or dissimulation, I assure you, in these things. And where I have been partly negligent in not resorting to my diocess so oft as I might, and ought to do, my Lord, I shal so use my self in that thing, os, I trust, shal be to the plesure of God and the Kings, and to my Lords and friends contentation.

And moreover, I dare promise, that whatever shal be de- 256 termined by the Kings Majesty to set forth to his people in any doctrin, that his Highnes, being my good and gracious Lord, and also that I may have this favorable assistance of your Lordship, I trust in Almighty God, that neither his Highnes nor your Lordship shal need to have any travail for that poor dioces. For I doubt not, God willing, to sattle them in such a sort, that if every Bishop wil so do his part, the Kings people shal be right shortly in a quietness.

Truth it is, my good Lord, that surely I am not very friendly to novelties, except that necessity, or a great expedient cause require it. But os touching the worshiping of images, setting up of candles before them, or kneeling, &c. I assure you, I trust ye shal hear shortly in my poor dioces, that they shal know their former faults, and leave it. It was one part of my sermon at Chichester upon the feast of the Assumption: and I shal now send one to Rye, and those parties, who shal also declare that, with other things, unto them in those parties.

My Lord, there shal none man be more conformable and earnest in things determined, than I shal be. And in case that ony man wil lay to my charge for the favouring of the Bishop of Rome, or for ony favor that I should bear to ony maner of doctrin; os I am certainly by rumour enformed that your Lordship should have some complainers of me, and what the Germans meaneth in their late writings, I know not: first, os concerning the Bishop of Rome, your Lordship knoweth no man to be in more obloquy among his friends beyond the seas than I am[a]. And my Lord, if I were a man able, or of the sort so to use my self, he is not in England or in Germany, but in that matter I durst ad-

[a] Having written against his authority.

venture my life with him, that I am no more a Papist than he is. And os concerning other complainers, I desire you, my Lord, at the reverence of God, and os the Kings chief Counsellor, that I may know the specialties, and you to know my answer, before that ye shal give credence to mine accusers. I doubt not, and wel I know before, that some both of Rye and Lewis would complain: and yet sure I am, that neither party hath cause, the matter wel heard. At Lewis, or therabouts, I never meddled. At Rye I think I have used them charitably, and yet do and wil do.

My good Lord, os good justice requireth, I pray you suspend the persuasion of your mind, til that ye shal hear mine answer to the accusements. For I doubt not, but that I have used a temperance, and such moderation os no man of good zele and discretion, the matter wel heard, could in any wise be offended with it.

My Lord, after the King, my Soveraign Lord, he is not in England, whose counsil or advice that I wil so follow, os onely yours. And, I assure you, I neither speak this for fear nor for flattery; but to shew you the truth of my mind, os I suppose your Lordship knoweth to have found and known it, and so shal know it. My Lord, I am one of those, I thank God, of such admonitions and afflictions in this world, that hath need to pray with David in the 129 Psalm, *Domine, libera animam meam a labiis iniquis, et a lingua dolosa.* But os ye have been my good Lord, so I have no doubt but that ye wil be in my just defence, and your accustomed goodnes towards me. And in case there is a fault, I wil grant it and amend it; os knoweth our
257 Lord, who preserve you in no less prosperous health to his plesure, than I would that mine own father should have, (whose soul God pardon,) if he were alive in this world. At London, the iiii. day of Sept.

Your own assured,
Rich. Cicester.

Number XCIII.

The same, to the same; concerning the Bishops of Durham, London, and Winchester's conferences with him, concerning traditions: from the Tower.

MY special good [Lord.] This morning hath been with me Mr. Dr. Petre and Mr. Bellows, by your good Lordships commandment; and they have signified unto me, that my Lord of Durham denyeth, that he hath comforted me to lean and stick to the old usages and traditions of the Church. The which I have mervail that he wil do, it hath been so many and oftentimes, specially, os I have seyd, in the time of the late Bishop of London, when we were busied with the Germans, and also with the book. And to bring it to my L. of Durhams remembrance, I would he should cal to his memory, that he hath an old book in Greek, and in that book are divers things of the old usages and traditions of the old Church; the which divers times he caried with him to Lambeth: and os I went with him in his barge, he would tel me of divers places there written for that purpose, and of divers things then used and ordained by the Greek Church, which were then in controversy. And in the same book, or else in another like, there was a form of a mass written, whether it were of Chrysostomes or Basils, now I remember not. The late Bishop of London also brought other books of Greek; and so they conferred togethers their books. My L. of Wynchestre, os I have sayd, was not then here. The comfort that he hath given me was now lately, not to fear to help things forward; for the Kings Highnes was very good Lord in them. Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 300.

Truth it is, that except it were now in *ceremonies*, in the which he wylled me to be diligent, and to leave none, but to leave that order to the Kings Majesties plesure, to continue or take away, which it shal please his Majesty: else, os I have seyd, he and I have not much conferred togethers. But in divers other times yet, when we spake of old usages, and old traditions, he was clear in that opinion, that they were not to be broken without a great cause; and that some of them were in no wise to be broken. Os now of late I perceive both by him and my Lord of Rochestre, that is one of their matters wherin they stayed. And my L. of Winchestre told me, that they were al in one opinion, very few except.

258 I doubt not also but that my [Lord] of Durham remembreth divers times at Lambeth, both in the gallery and when we departed from my L. of Canterbury, how that the late Bishop of London wold be very earnest with me for those old usages of the Church, and such os are called *old traditions*, and that my L. of Durham advised me to the same. These Greek books were sought out only for that purpose, to set forth the old usages and traditions of the Church: because they were thought of authority; and so thought I then very much, I trust wel remembred. My L. of Durham wil not sey otherwyse, but that he and my late L. of London were fully bent to mayntain as many of the old usages and traditions as they might; and so they seyd it was necessary to do; especially when they appeared by the Greek Church. And, os I remember, one special thing was, for *praying for souls*, and that by prayers they were delivered from pains. And in this matter was S. Augustine brought in for [by] both parties. And the messe in Greek was brought in for that purpose. But there was in my L. of Durhams Greek book for other also usages and orders of the Church.

My Lord also remembreth, that he, with the late Bishop of London, was very diligent to search out in Greek the old canons, os wel such as are called *Canones Apostolorum*, os others.

These are such special things, my good Lord, os now cometh wel to my remembrance, sufficient, I trust, to cal to my L. of Durhams memory for that purpose. If there were ony thing else in my remembrance, I wold plainly write; or if ony other thing shal come, I shal at al times plainly declare it.

My special good Lord, I wholly commend me to God and to the Kings Majesties goodnes and mercy; and after them, only to your good Lordship, os mine only means; and have most cause humbly to thank you for your inestimable comfort to me, in signifying that his Highnes was and is my most gracious Lord. Which thing causeth me to bear wel other, els intolerable, troubles of mind, and surely mortal. I beseech Almighty God to preserve your good Lordship. In the Tower, the 7th day of June.

Your good Lordships most bound,
Rich. Cicester.

Number XCIV.

Philippus Melancthon, ad Regem Henricum VIII. propria manu.

Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 332.

S. D. Inclyte Rex. Postquam hoc tempore subita legatio decreta est, hoc nomine gaudeo delectum esse hunc Franciscum, quo mihi nemo est conjunctior: qui perpetuam meam observantiam erga regiam Majestatem tuam, et meam voluntatem in re publica verissimè poterit R. Majestati tuæ exponere. Tanta enim ejus fides est, et ita probata multis principibus viris, ut ejus de me præsertim, quem 259 penitus novit, oratio, plurimum debeat habere ponderis. Ipse mihi testis erit, mea studia præcipuè semper ad illustrandum piam doctrinam spectasse. Nec aliud homini docto potius faciendum esse censeo. Sed in hac tanta re tamque difficili, homines privati habent opus summorum regum atque ordinum auxiliis. Et R. M. T. magnam in spem erexit animos omnium doctorum ubivis gentium, non defuturam se sanctissimis votis piorum flagitantium emendationem Ecclesiarum. Quid enim aliud agit factio R. Pontificis, nisi ut res optimas divinitus patefactas deleat; ut inauditam crudelitatem adversus reges, principes et multas nationes exerceat, ut tyrannidem infinitam, et plusquam barbaricam in Ecclesia constituat, ad defendendos impios abusus?

Quare cum tantum sit universæ Ecclesiæ periculum, non desinam hortari et obtestari R. M. T. ut respiciat veram

Eclesiam, velut advolutam ad genua tua veteri supplicum more, et ut autor esse velis constituendi in hac parte firmi consensus, et duraturi ad posteritatem; et inflectas animos cæterorum regum, ne se ad societatem consiliorum pontificiorum adjungant. Hæc res tanta est, ut videt R. M. T. major ut nulla cogitari possit. Eamque ob causam tali Rege digna est, qui eruditione et sapientia cæteris antecellit. Profecto quisquis regum in tanto discrimine laboranti Ecclesiæ opem tulèrit, is verè imago Dei in terris existimandus erit. Hæc etsi non dubito, quin ipse assidue cogites, tamen scribo, quod R. M. T. prodest etiam exterarum nationum vota cognoscere, quæ optant, ut non solum Britanniæ tuæ, sed etiam aliarum nationum Ecclesiis consulas. Ego mea studia omnia summa cum observantia R. M. tuæ offero: meque et hunc Franciscum R. M. tuæ diligentissime commendo. Christus Opt. Max. servet incolumem regiam M. T. ad salutem Ecclesiæ. Die Maii xii. anno 1538.

Inclyto et sereniss. Regi Dom. Henrico Octavo, Regi Angliæ et Franciæ, &c. Principi clementissimo.

Regiæ Majestatis tuæ
addictissimus,
Philippus Melancthon.

Number XCV.

Frederichus Mychonius, ad D. Thomam Crumwellium.

Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 227.

GRATIAM et pacem a Deo Patre nostro, et Domino nostro Jhesu Christo. Illustris et magnifice Domine. Ego jam cum aliis dominis meis principum oratoribus, quantum potui, caussæ religionis ad multos jam menses inserviens, tandem in tantam imbecillitatem corporis, et adversam valetudinem incidi, ut neque si velim, ultra possim istis laboribus adesse. Experior enim quottidie magis magisque morbos ingravescere et imminui vires meas; adeo ut nisi maturè ad Germaniam rediero, mihi sit de vita desperandum. Et quanquam etiam medicorum sum usus consilio, tamen video me neque illis mediis quicquam proficere. Et licet 260 paratus sim pro gloria Christi promovenda etiam omnia pati; tamen cum in articulis et in summa doctrinæ Christianæ, eousque progressi sumus, ut de præcipuis jam conveniat: et quod de abusibus est reliquum, cum in eis rebus, tam verbo quam scripto, nostrorum Principum, Doctorum, Ecclesiarum, et nostram sententiam explicaverimus, et Episcopi atque Doctores jam sententiam nostram teneant: poterant etiam, nobis absentibus, illa expendere, et quod divinæ voluntati placitum, et Ecclesiæ Dei utile esse viderint, constituere. Oro itaque et per Dei bonitatem ac misericordiam, illustrem Magnificentiam vestram obsecro et obtestor, ut hæc qualiacunque officia nostra, ad quæ pro gloria Dei, et in honorem regiæ Majestatis et vestræ illustris Magnificentiæ promptissimi fuimus, boni consulet. Et quo ego vel mortem ipsam, vel certe valetudinis meæ gravissima pericula evadere possim, nobis illico, et quam citissimè fieri potest, a regia Majestate gratiosam dimissionem impetret. Pro qua re, si mihi (quod futurum spero) valetudo restituetur, et vita comes fuerit, me et orando, et quibuscumque aliis rebus potero, cum regiæ Majestatis, tam etiam vestræ Magnificentiæ, et communis hujus regni salutem, apud Dom. Christum toto studio, quærere velle polliceor. Oro hoc efficiat illustris Magnificentia vestra, quo possim prædicare et laudare apud Principes nostros, quod hoc officio illustris Mag. vestræ et incolumitas mihi restituta, et vita servata fuerit. Dom. Jhesus Christus illustrem Mag. vestram in laudem et gloriam nominis sui perpetuo servet. *Amen.* Dat. Londini 1538. Pridie nativitatis Mariæ.

Excellentiss. Illustri. Mag. Vestræ S.

Frederichus Myconius.

Illustri. et magnifico Domino Dno.
Thomæ Cromwello, Domino privati sigilli, et Domino observantissimo suo.

Number XCVI.

Literarum Oratorum Germaniæ brevis summa, Anglice. Their judgment concerning Abuses.

Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 209. THEY excuse themselves, that they do again, by their letters now sent, disturb the Kings Majesty, being employed in the public cares of the kingdom: adding the cause why they write now; which is this. When after they had related what was given them in commandment, and that they had conferred of the Articles of the Christian Religion for two months with some Bishops and Doctors of Divinity, appointed them by the Kings Majesty; they doubt not but a firm and perpetual concord betwixt their Princes and the Kings Majesty, and their Bishops, Divines, and subjects, would follow in the doctrin of the Gospel, to the praise of God, and the ruine of the Roman Antichrist.

261 And because they cannot stay for the rest of the disputation concerning *abuses*, before they depart, they think it their duty to declare their sentence of some articles of *abuses:* which after their departure the Kings Majesty may take care, that his Bishops and Divines confer together of. They say, the purity of doctrin cannot be conserved, unles those abuses be taken away, that fight with the word of God, and have produced and maintained the tyranny and idolatry of the Roman Antichrist.

They assert three particular heads, which do uphold the foundation of the Popish tyranny; namely, the prohibition of both kinds in the Lords Supper; private Mas; and the forbidding the mariage of Priests.

They begin first with the article *De utraque Specie.* They say, that the ordination of Christ is to be preserved before humane traditions. But he himself instituted both kinds, when he said, *Drink ye all of it*, &c. That it is like that men, conquered with the Roman Popes thunders, changed the true use of the Eucharist. Which now the German Princes, that profess the doctrin of the Gospel, have brought back, shaking off the Popes yoke. Who, contrary to the command of Christ, contrary to the sentence of the holy Fathers, contrary to the custome of the antient Church, hath divided the Sacrament, and deprived the laity of the bloud.

De privata Missa. The Mass is nothing else but a communion or *synaxis*, as S. Paul calleth it, nor was the use of it otherwise in the time of the Apostles. But a certain diverse work repugning to a communion is thence made. Because they teach, that hereby grace is merited *ex opere operato*, as they speak; and that the Mass takes away the sins of the living and the dead.

Private masses have sustained the papacy, as a kind of Atlas. By masses the Pope brought in indulgences. By which he hath robbed the world, and filled it with monks, to mumble these private masses. By which the Pope hath extinguished the word of God.

The German Princes have reduced the communion to the old wont; which they celebrate in the German language. And they appele for this to the testimony of those that were sent by the King into Germany, and saw al.

In this same epistle they lightly touched al that was written in many volumes concerning private masses, that the King might know upon what good reason they had abolished them, and that they might give answer to the calumnies of the adversaries.

De conjugio Sacerdotum. The celibacy of Priests, they say, the Roman Bishop brought in against the Scripture, against the law of nature, against al honesty. Concerning which Paul did foretel; saying, that the *Spirit manifestly spake, that in the last times some should depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error, and doctrines of devils, speaking lyes in hypocrisy,* FORBIDING TO MARRY. This agrees to the Pope of Rome. That the German Princes, when they saw many wickednesses to arise from this prohibition, broke the Popes bonds, and permitted free matrimony to Priests.

Of other abuses they are silent at present; as concerning *auricular confession;* wherby the Pope hath reduced the power of the keys to a most filthy craft; and made *confes-*

262 *sion* a mere carnage of consciences: and by it held kings and princes under his girdle. And so, with some submissive conclusions to the King, desiring his answer, and praising him for his wisdom, and the progress he had made in religion, and exciting him to go yet on, they made an end.

Number XCVII.

Certain Bishops' judgments concerning pilgrimages.

Cleop. E. 5.

THE bodies of saints, and, namely, the relicks of holy martyrs, are to be honoured most sincerely, as the members of Christ. The churches builded in their names, deputed to the service of God, be to be gon unto with faithful and good devotion; and not to be contemned: and pilgrimage to places where Almighty God sheweth miracles, may be don by them that have therunto devotion.

Joh. Bath Wellens. Cuthbert. Dunelmens.
Jo. London. W. Abbas Sti. Bndicti.
Joh. Lincoln.

Number XCVIII.

PURGATORIUM.

Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, his judgment thereof: with annotations in the margin of King Henry's own hand.

Cleop. E. 5.

MODICUM plora super mortuum, quoniam requievit. Ecclus. cap. xxii. As who say, Thy brother is dead. If natural passion move thee to weep, yet weep but little. For if he dyed in the faith of Christ repentantly, he is at rest. [a] *Ergo*, in no pain of purgatory. For where such pain is, there is no rest. For they that affirm purgatory, affirm the pain to pass al the pain in the world. Hugo de Vienna upon the same place, *Potius gaudendum est, inquit, quam flendum, quia quisquis sic moritur, de* [b] *labore ad requiem, de luctu ad gaudium transivit.* What rest hath he gotten, that is removed from the stocks in Newgate to the rack in the Tower?

[a] *Ergo*, yet in a place. For of pain we dispute not.

[b] This Hugo speaketh, remembring no quietnes in this world, nor yet til we come to heaven, and not condemning of purgatory.

Eccles. ii. *Ubicunque lignum ceciderit, ibi erit.* In what state a man dies, in that he shal continue without end; *sive ad austrum, sive ad aquilonem:* either to heaven or to hel. *Non est medium, si Hieronymo credimus: et operæ pretium fuerit legere Pellicanum.*

Aug. super Ps. xxxi. *Beati, quorum tecta sunt peccata.* 263 [c] *Si texit peccata Deus, noluit advertere: si noluit advertere, noluit animadvertere. Si noluit animadvertere, noluit punire, &c. Ergo, peccata in hoc seculo obtecta, et remissa, non sunt in futuro punita* [d]. *Ergo, frustraneum est - - - - purgatorium.*

[c] Mark wel the very text of this.

[d] This argument is wel, and - - plying more to carnal wytsway, than to playnnes of the text.

Id. in De Ebrietate. *Nemo se decipiat, fratres; duo enim loca sunt, et tertius non est visus. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruit, cum Diabolo absque ulla dubitatione peribit.* Here he had occasion to make mention of purgatory, if he had then known it [e].

[e] Is this a sufficient confusion [confutation] of purgatory, because he here, speaking of drunkennes, doth not mention of purgatory?

Aug. De Vanitate Seculi. *Scitote verò quod cum anima a corpore avellitur, statim aut in paradiso, pro* [f] *meritis bonis collocatur; aut certè pro peccatis in inferni tartara præcipitatur.* Ecce! quam manifeste, quasi ex industria, absorpsit purgatorium?

[f] Note this text to make against you in another of your opinions; and also, that he rather putteth a mean place between heaven and hel, which he calleth *paradise*, [which] is a place of comfort toward salvation.

Hieronym. in Eccles. ii. *Ubicunque ubi locum præparaveris, futuramque sedem, sive ad austrum sive ad boream, ibi cum mortuus fueris permanebis.* If S. Hierom had regarded purgatory, there had been occasion to have made mention of it [g].

[g] *Must* the saints take occasion to write where you think place is for them, or where they think it meetest?

Hilar. in Ps. xxvii. *Judicii dies vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna, vel pœnæ* [h]. *Tempus verò mortis habet interim unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad judicium unumquemque aut Abraam reservat, aut pœna.* Quis hic non videt purgatorium fore nullum?

[h] Who ever held opinion, that in or after the day of judgment there was a purgation? This text maketh not against that opinion. Therfore nothing to your purpose.

Cyprian. sermone 4to. De Mortalitate. *Amplectamur diem mortis qui assignat singulos domicilio suo: qui nos hinc ereptos, paradiso restituit, et regno cœlesti.* Cyprianus non abstinuisset hic a mentione purgatorii, si tale quid vel cogitasset[i].

[i] This your interpretation sheweth plainly mens affections. For it is evident in learning, that a copulative - - not *eundem locum.* Wherfore the contrary is rather to be gathered on this text.

Chrysost. in Jo. cap. undec. Homilia lxi. pag. 9. et b. *Justus moriens cum angelis evolabit, etiamsi nemo exequiis interveniat. Perditus autem, etsi in funere universam habuerit civitatem, nihil lucrabitur.* Quid aptius dici possit in condemnationem purgatorii, quam quod eruditissimus hic dicit[k]?

[k] To this authority answereth this text of Scripture, *Justo non est posita lex. Perdito nulla redemptio.* So nother of these, wherof this text speaketh, belong to a sinner repentant. Wherfore purgatory may yet stond for all this.

Breviter multa sunt multorum authorum testimonia, quæ demoliuntur purgatorium. Multa etiam in ejusdem authoribus, quæ sonant esse purgatorium. Incertum est negotium, 264 neque tutum quicquam determinare, ne incerta pro veris statuantur. Tametsi certissimum fuerit ejusmodi purgatorium, quale trecentos jam annos creditum fuerit, non possit stabiliri. At quod ad authoritatem scriptorum attinet, sic Lyranus audet pronuntiare, *Non debet aliquem movere, quod ego recedo in hoc a dictis Hieronymi; quia dicta sanctorum non sunt tantæ authoritatis quin liceat sentire contrarium in his quæ non sunt per sacram Scripturam determinata*[l].

[l] Non solum suo sensu adhærente tamen.

Unde dicit Aug. in Ep. ad Vincentium, De Scripturis sanctorum Doctorum: *Hoc genus scripturarum a canonicis Scripturis distinguendum est. Non enim ex eis sic testimonia perferuntur, ut contrarium sentire non liceat.* Hactenus Lyranus.

Et hoc est apud Hieronym. et reliquos authores vulgatissimos, quod quicquid citra Scripturas asseritur, eadem facilitate rejicitur, qua admittitur[m].

[m] Hoc ergo sit intelligi debet, quod quicquid Ecclesia receperit, id rejicere potuit; sed non quisquis sua sponte prædicando.

As touching purgatory, I might, by way of disputation, reason this against it. God is more enclined to mercy than to justice. He executeth justice upon these that be dampned, mercy upon these that be saved. But they that be dampned, as soon as the soul is separate from the body, goeth strait to hel. *Ergo*, if God be more enclined to mercy, them that be saved, as soon as the soul is out of the body, goeth by and by to heaven. Of these there is no purgatory[n]?

[n] This is a false argument, and also a wrong example. For God is as merciful and indifferent in this world to him that may be damned, as to him that may be saved: yet the obstinacy of the man letts not, wherby one may perceive that his justice and mercy dependeth on the wil of the creature, and as you, in a text before, alledge the merits of the person.

The founding of monasteries argued purgatory to be: so the putting of them down argueth it not to be. What uncharitablenes and cruellnes seemeth it to be to destroy monasteries, if purgatory be? Now it seemeth not convenient the act of Parlament to preach one thing, and the pulpit another clean contrary[o].

[o] Why then do you? Turpe enim est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

Number XCIX.

King Henry VIII's confutation, writ by his own hand, of the sense of two places of Scripture, alleged against purgatory, in the former writing.

UBICUNQUE lignum ceciderit, ibi erit. This text it Cleop. E. 5.
self, speaking of but one stick, doth not deny purgatory;
nor the example of a dead stick can wel, without great
forceing of, be attribute to a soul repentant, not yet having
his ful judgment. And if you wil turn it to a lively stick,
then it seemeth me, that it wil make much against your
purpose. For a lively stick may chance, with falling, to
grow, though not suddenly, and so come to some perfection
of his fruits. So may the soul of man by this example, de- 265
parting hence to purgatory in right faith, grow toward his
perfection, abiding the day of judgment.

Beati quorum, &c. Jesus! How do you descant on this

Psalm, and also on S. Augustin, when you would make folk believe, that this was meant against purgatory, when the very text declareth nothing, but the beatitude and hopefulnes of them that hath their sins hid and forgiven? Herein do you shew your carnal wit; which in preaching you dispraise so much.

Number C.

Some short notes drawn up by King Henry's own pen; concerning Priests' marriage.

Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 124. b.

DESCRIPTIO Clerici è Græco secundum Ieronimum. *Cleros* Græcè, Latinè *sors* appellatur. Propterea Cleri dicuntur, quia de *sorte* Domini sunt, vel quia Dominus *sors* Clericorum est. At iste se talem exhibere [debet] ut possideat Dominum, et ipse possideatur a Domino, &c.

Descriptio Sacerdotis. Est autem Sacerdos is qui Deo dicatus est ad sacrificia facienda; a quo Sacerdotium ipsum Sacerdotis munus, officium.

Descriptio voti. Est autem *votum* alicujus boni, cum deliberatione, Deo facta promissio.

Nota dictum Pauli ad Timotheum. *Nemo, militans Deo, impedit se negotiis secularibus; ut ei placeat, cui se præbuerit.*

Qui presbyter est, et probare et probari debet ante adeptum officium, etsi Deo dicatus sit. Quare non debet implicere [implicare] se negotiis sæcularibus. Denuo, matrimonium est negotium sæculare; ex quo Scriptura prohibet presbyteris matrimonium inire. Quod approbat Chrysostomus scribendo ad Theodorum. Athanasius, Hieronymus.

De voto, et fide irrita.

De irreprehensibilitate.

Unusquisque ergo in quo vocatus est, in hoc maneat apud Deum.

Solutus es ab uxore? Noli quærere uxorem.

Volo autem vos sine solitudine [solicitudine] *esse.*

N. *Episcopum irreprehensibilem esse oportere.*

Number CI.

Philippus Melancthon ad Regem Henricum VIII.

Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 239.

S. D. Serenissime et inclyte Rex: Franciscus[a] noster rediens, cum heroicas virtutes tuas amplissimè prædicavit, tum vero etiam singularem erga me benevolentiam Celsitu- 266 dinis tuæ mihi exposuit: quam etsi antea Celsitudo tua non obscuris signis declaravit, tamen gaudebam ab hoc, quem tanquam alterum me esse censeo, sermones mihi tuos amantissimos perferri. Itaque cum de studiis nostris amanter sentias, reverenter me C. T. commendo. Simul autem commendo C. T. publicam causam Christianæ relligionis. Scit enim C. T. præcipuum hoc officium esse summorum principum, propagare et tueri cælestem doctrinam. Propter hoc muneris impertit eis Deus societatem nominis sui. Opto autem, ut antea sæpe scripsi, consensum piæ doctrinæ constitui in iis ecclesiis omnibus, quæ Romani Episcopi tyrannidem et impietatem damnat. Hic consensus gloriam Dei illustraret, et profuturus esset ad cæteras nationes invitandas, et retinendam tranquillitatem Ecclesiarum. Jam fœliciter cœpit C. T. e medio tollere quasdam nefarias superstitiones. Quæso igitur ut reliquorum abusuum emendationem suscipiat. Non obscurum est, quid moliantur adversarii, sed doctrinam quam profitemur nunquam oppriment. Eritque Deus custos politiarum nostrarum et principum. Qui semper sic adfecti fuerunt, ut pacem mallent, etiam publica tranquillitatis causa. Sed tamen si hostes arma ceperint, non licet nostris deesse suo officio. Sæpe autem mihi venit in mentem inscriptionis nomismatum Regis Edvardi: in qua sunt hæc verba, *Jesus autem transibat per medium eorum.* Significavit enim haud dubiè Rex sapiens, divinitus tegi gubernatores reipub. si justas causas defendant. Ac vero illud præcipuè est heroicum, pro Ecclesia contra tyrannos arma gerere. Fertur Ajax interrogasse Achillem, quos labores omnium maximos et difficillimos sustinuisset. Huic respondit Achilles, susceptos pro amicis. Cumque rursus Ajax interrogaret, quos sustinuerit jucundissimos: respondit Achilles, eosdem. Significavit heroico viro, nihil esse jucundius, quam asperrimas res gerere pro communi salute; eumque quanquam ingentes sustinentem ærumnas, tamen ipsa virtute delectari. Tanta in illis magnitudo animi erat, etiamsi non tenebant veram Dei notitiam. Quanto magis Christianos principes decet pro Ecclesia suscipere pericula et labores, cum sciant se divinitus ad hoc munus vocatos esse, et cælestia præmia pro his certaminibus proposita esse. Quare non desinam adhortari C. T. ut et recte consulere Ecclesiis pergat, et resistendum esse tyrannidi et violentis adversariorum consiliis, statuat. Bene et feliciter valeat Cels. T. die Martii 26. anno 1539. Francofurti.

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[a] Franciscus nempe Burgartus, Vicecancellarius Electoris Saxoniæ orator.

Regiæ Majestati tuæ addictissimus,
Philippus Melancthon.

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Number CII.

Ph. Melancthon ad Regem Henricum.

Cleop. E. 5. S. D. Sereniss. et inclyte Rex. Etsi videor ineptus interpellator, tamen Francisco istuc proficiscenti dedi literas, non quod illi commendatione opus esse arbitrarer, præsertim publico nomine venienti, sed quod meum testimonium sui perpetui studii erga regiam M. T. adferre cupiebat. Adfirmo igitur Franciscum tuas laudes, cum in publicis conciliis, tum in privatis congressibus, magna fide et constantia, prædicare solere, easque sententias, quæ ad ornandam tuendamque dignitatem tuam pertinent, magna cura adjuvare. Hæc verè a me scribi testes esse possunt multi gravissimi viri. Quæ quidem significanda esse duxi regiæ M. T. quia iis, qui præsunt reip. prodest nosse voluntates hominum non simulatas. Est autem Franciscus, cum in omni vita amans veritatis, tum vero in dicenda sententia maxime rectus et ingenuus. Porro inter laudes Regis Ptolomei, hanc quoque poeta Theocritus recenset: quod veros amicos a fucatis discernere solitus sit. Complectetur ergo R. M. T. Franciscum, ita ut statuat eum ex animo optime velle regiæ Majestati tuæ.

Negotia quæ adfert pertinent ad communem salutem Ecclesiæ, et ad conservationem piæ doctrinæ. Nec vero alia ulla causa honestior incidere potest, quæ dignior sit regia propugnatione, quàm piæ doctrinæ defensio. Quare, oro, ne ei desit R. M. T. Erit et ad cætera consilia opportunius, si citò istic res confectæ erunt. Hæc ut scriberem ad R. M. T. non impudentiâ, sed quadam officii ratione, et singulari observantiâ regiæ M. T. adductus sum. Quæ ut boni consulat, oro. Deus servet R. M. T. incolumem et florentem. x. Aprilis, 1539.

Regiæ M. T. addictissimus,
Philippus Melancthon.

Number CIII.

The Duke of Saxony, and Landgrave of Hesse, to the King; concerning those matters which Christopher Mount and Thomas Panel, the King's messengers, related to them by the King's command.

The answer of John Frederic, by the benefit of God, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the sacred Roman empire, and of Philip, by the divine benefit, Landgrave of Hesse, Earl of the Hassians, &c. to those matters which Christopher Mount and Thomas Panel, agents of K. Henry VIII. our friend and most dear cousin, expounded to us by the said King of England's commandment. Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 285. 268

BY your oration we understand first, the singular and exceeding good will of the most serene King of England towards us: which was most welcome to us, both upon our own private account, and because of the public benefit of the Church. For it is very convenient that kings should, together with us, take on them the common care of reforming the Churches, and advanceing the glory of Christ.

We pray therfore, that ye signify to the K. M. in our name, and present to him our services with the greatest observance.

Next, in relating the cause why ye were sent unto us; namely, a report caried of the *pacification:* wherfore the

King was concerned to enquire concerning the conditions of the peace; whether we were about to make some alterations in the doctrine and rites of our Churches, and would yield some things to the Bishop of Rome: specially, when the Emperor was reported to have said, that he hoped the German Princes would not decline his authority in the cause of religion?

Altho we doubt not many of our adversaries have divers wayes attempted to alienate the minds of the most serene King of England from us in the common cause of the Church; yet when we have so often signified to him by his ambassadors and orators, and lastly by our own, that we, by the grace of God, would be constant in so great a cause, as became Christians and Princes, and would never cast off the pure and catholic doctrin of the Gospel, which we profess, nor receive the tyranny nor rites of the Bishop of Rome; we wonder whence this doubt of us should arise in the mind of the most serene King: and we very much desire, that the most serene King would, in things that concern our selves, sooner believe us than our adversaries.

For altho we alwayes valued peace, as becometh Princes that love their country; and we have often defended it with our armes, together with other Princes of Germany, with whom we have been joyned by so many bonds of kindred and covenants; and that we ought to reverence the Emperor, and we have obeyed him in the common weal, and in those causes which pertain to the empire; yet this was alwayes resolved by us, to retain the profession of the truth, and not to reproch the Gospel of Christ, since he teacheth, that this worship of God is necessary, and the chiefest of al things, saying, *He that shal confes me before men, him wil I confes before my heavenly Father.*

Hitherto, such hath been the moderation of the Emperor, that altho' the faction of the Bishop of Rome hath often endeavoured to incite him to take up war against us, yet he would not be the minister of anothers cruelty. Therfore both our duties do as yet appear towards the Emperor;
269 and we have always taken care that it might appear, that

we love the common peace and tranquillity, and desire to defend it. Of which there are many illustrious testimonies.

Nor are we ignorant, the commonwealth being once moved, cannot easily be allayed again. Wherfore we have hitherto dissembled many injuries brought upon us by our adversaries. And altho we have been with great grief beholders of parricides, which the adversaries every where commit; who most unjustly put to death pious men and Christs members, and exercise a greater cruelty than that of Nero, and the rest after him, was at Rome; yet we have been quiet, nor thought convenient to take up armes. Nevertheles neither fear nor favour of any one draweth us away from the pure doctrin of the Gospel which we profess, since we know it is the true doctrin of Christ, which the catholic and apostolic Church delivered. In this opinion, by the grace of God, we have wholly determined to persist: and we beseech God to confirm us, and to over-rule dangers. For he is the defender and governour of his Church.

When our ambassadors were returned out of England, they related, among other things, how the same thing was objected to them, that doubt was made of our constancy. But tho we hoped they answered gravely, as they rehearsed to us; yet these things we now repeat, that a testimony might remain with the King, signed by us; that he might not doubt of our constancy.

That, after the return of our ambassadors, we wrot not back presently, happened upon this account; because, in the very juncture of their coming home, some of our enemies did practise against us a civil war and a wicked robbery. We therfore deferred our answer, being taken up in the care of repressing it. Nor could we write any thing of the pacification, which happened suddenly, and was uncertain; and we heard of no conditions.

But the declaration of our ambassadors was ful of the praises of his serene Majesty, and shewed ample hope of the amendment of the Churches. They mentioned many illustrious significations of the serene Kings good wil towards us, and his mervellous kindnes towards ours. But especially they declared his wil for the restoring of the purity of doctrin in the Churches, and abolishing abuses.

In answer to this, we thank the most serene King, that he hath such a loving sense of us, and so graciously embraceth ours. And we exhort him as much as we can, that he go on to consult for the Churches, and to restore the true worship for the glory of Christs sake. For he understandeth, according to his wisdom, that this duty is chiefly incumbent upon kings: and having thrust down the Roman Antichrist, the author and patron of error, he sheweth that he wil correct the impieties that arose, or was confirmed by the Bishop of Rome. And he hath begun that amendment. He hath set over some of the Churches learned and godly teachers: who may recal the people to the acknowledgment of Christ, to true invocation, and the duties that are acceptable to God; exploding the superstitions. He hath overthrown some images and idols which the people impiously worshiped.

And tho many, both Bishops and Kings, ignorant of true religion, judge otherwise of these deeds; yet godly men
270 know they have more of true praise, than the most celebrated triumphs. As by the voice of the prophets, King Josaphat and other good princes were not less spoke of for their taking away idols, than for their famous victories, which God gave them; invited so to do by this their piety, that they abolished fanatical and monstrous superstitions.

Lastly, We hear, that the most serene King, in his late proclamation, did promise his people the emendation of the rest of the ecclesiastical abuses. Wherfore we gratulate this mind to him and his Christian state; and exhort him, as much as we may, being of his own accord incited, that he look upon the Churches layd waste by false doctrin, for the avarice and ambition of the Roman Bishops, and revive them; and brighten again religion, now almost wholly razed and extinguished. And so he shal effect a perfect deliverance of the Churches from the tyranny of the Bishops of Rome, if by his own authority he take away impious rites, raised and established by the said Bishop of Rome. This we think convenient to mention; not that we doubt of the wil of the most serene King, but because we fear ever, that there be there some Bishops much addicted to the inveterate opinions of the Bishops of Rome, whose morosity is an impediment to this consulting for the Churches. And by their sentence we think it came to pas, that to that proclamation was added a somewhat hard confirmation of certain vitious or unprofitable rites: which yet, we hope, the most serene King wil mitigate. For we understand, that many things were put into that proclamation, which indeed do not agree with those articles, which our men have conferred with the Bishops and Divines of the Kings Majesty about; and which, in our judgments, do not vary from the right doctrine of religion. For vitious *traditions* offend the light of the Gospel. And this asperity deterreth the weak from the purer doctrin: it proposeth other worship than is delivered by God, and taketh away authority from the rest.

Augustin complaineth, that *traditions* did so encrease in his time, that now the service of the Church was harder than that of the Jews. How much sadder wil the service be, if vitious constitutions be armed with corporal punishments; whence a bitter time would ensue towards the good and godly. From which we hope the wil of the most serene King doth abhor. Wherfore, for the glory of Christ, and that godly men may be spared, we wish the Churches to be constituted according to the rule of the Gospel. Which, if it were, our agreement would be good and beneficial for the universal Church; and the example would invite other nations.

Concerning an embassy, in which the Kings Majesty desireth that some excellently learned men might be sent to him, for a further disputation; it cannot now be resolved, for such causes especially, as we have partly signified to the King, and partly have understood by the very circumstances of the times. And let the King take this in good part. We judge the opinion of our men is sufficiently known to the serene King, and the learned in England, as wel by our confession, as by those disputations which the

Ambassador of the most serene King three years ago[a], and lately the English Bishops had with our men, sent thither.

271 Nor let the most serene King think, that we wil cast off the opinion which hitherto we have defended, nor wil we suffer that any of ours should become approvers of a contrary sentence.

And we understand there, that our articles of the *mas*, of the use of the *whole sacrament* of the Lords Supper, and of the *celibate*, be stil called into question: wherby how much danger we sustain sufficiently appeareth. Which indeed we should not draw upon our selves, did we not understand, that what we profess is commanded by God: nor are the things obscure of themselves.

Of the *Supper* of the Lord, the appointment of Christ is wel known: which hath endured many ages in the Church. Afterward another new custome was received by the negligence of the Bishops, and confirmed by the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome.

And the command of *wedlock* is extant: and the law concerning the *celibacy* is exasperated by the Bishop of Rome, against the antient authority. There be extant clear testimonies of antient writers, which shew, there were no private *masses* for some ages, when religion was more pure. And alwayes some were admitted in the service of the Church to communicate in the Sacrament. That custom, agreing with the ordinance of Christ, is a weighty and firm testimony of our opinion.

Since therfore God would have the worship observed or retained, which was instituted with his command, we have judged this custom instituted in the Church, and in the purer Church observed, to be necessarily embraced.

These things we have repeated, that the King might not think we doubt of our opinion, or wil grant that our men should approve of any thing contrary. And we wish, that our Lord Jesus Christ govern the breast and counsils of the most serene King, to the common welfare of the Church, and to protect and keep him.

Concerning the *pacification* here treated of, and of the

[a] Anno 1536.

articles, which were explained to us by the Kings Ambassadors, when we heare them the second time, we shal signify our opinion by those we now send to him. And these things we thought good to serve for answer to the King. And we present our duties with the highest deference: and we most diligently commend our selves to him, as our most dear cozin and lord. Dated at Frankford, the 4. April an. Dom. MDXXXIX.

Number CIV.

The Lord Crumwel to the King; upon the coming of some ambassadors from the Protestant Princes of Germany.

PLEASITH it your most noble Majesty; After my very bounden duty right honorably remembered with most hearty and effectuous thanks for your gracious benignity extended upon me infinite wayes; and now in special for your facil acceptation of mine absence, and comfortable gracious words; to understand, that yesterday about noon arrived to me hither your Majesties servants, Mr. Christopher Mount and Mr. Paynel: and shewed unto me, that the Duke of Saxony hath sent hither to your Highnes his Vicechancellor, Burgart; and the Landisgrave, a gentleman of his of good experience, that can speak sundry languages, and hath been oftentimes sent to sundry princes in message, as he is now to your Grace. Cleop. E. 5. p. 172. 272

At their departure from Frankford, the assembly was not as yet dissolved, nor ful conclusion taken therupon: albeit some thought, that it would come to the point of an abstinence of any molestation on both parties for eighteen months or so. The said Burgart and his *collega*, with four other persons in their company, arrived hither also yesterday; and were brought by the said Christopher to Jenyngs, Sergeant to your Graces pastery house: there to remain for such time, til they may be otherwise better provided of better lodging. I have not as yet, for mine indisposition, spoken to them. But by your Graces servant I can perceive, that the Landgrave and Duke also do continue stil in their loving and friendly observation towards your Majesty, very joyous of your Graces alliance and confederation, if it shal please your Highnes to enter with them. And so concerning the same point, their orators be sent hither at this time. But what their instructions do bear, your Graces servants be not made privy of: howbeit they think, that they wol require concord in doctrin, and mutual help of defence, in case of invasion, with indifferent conditions of reciproque.

And as for the first point, the said Landgrave grieveth to find that part of your Graces proclamation somewhat strange: wherin thus it is spoken *de conjugio Sacerdotum:* saying, that the same was against the true doctrin of the *votes*, which they professed. And hereupon also Melancthon hath written unto me, that he hath seen that proclamation, wherin certain evil doctrins be forbidden, and also certain true doctrins, which they profess in Alemayn *de votis et de conjugio:* but that he hoped, for as much as in the said proclamation your Highnes promiseth to abolish abuses, that your Gr. shal consider the same more exactly, and at the last mitigate the same.

They have, as Mr. Christopher saith, been earnestly in hand with him for the same point. Who answered, that altho he knew not your Graces considerations in that behalf, yet he might wel affirm, that your Highnes is not so scrupulous in the matter *de votis;* and that sundry *nuns* and religious women have been discharged out of their houses with honest pensions during their lives, and not forbidden, but suffered to mary. But as for *priests*, he thinketh the cause of the prohibition was, because they might preach the word of God: and that it was thought the common people, as yet weak in the knowledge of the word, and of other things, might therby conceive an opinion of concupiscence in them; and by reason therof condemn their preaching, and the word of God. But what your Gr. would do afterward, when the people shal wax strong, and able to eat
273 solid meat, he answered, he could not define nor judg: but that he doubted not, but your Gr. did nothing without

good cause and reason, and with great consideration. With the which answer the said Landgrave and others were marvellously satisfied. So that, as it is to be thought, they wol not much stick to that point.

Melancthon further writeth unto me his opinion of your Graces Bishops by these words: *Multi ubique hoc tempore astutè cogitatis interpretationibus excusant abusus, aut leniunt: ut arte stabiliant eos: sicut fit in libro, Coloniæ edito, cui titulus est Enchiridion. Hanc sophisticam perniciosam Ecclesiæ video imitari mitratos apud vos. Sed cavendum est, ne hac sophistica rursus obruatur veritas. Nam ad tranquillitatem durabilem etiam simplex veritas utilior est.* This is the effect of Melancthons letter to me.

The Duke of Saxon, concerning the mariage of your Graces person, hath exhorted the Duke of Cleves to go through without any difficulty. But as yet his Councel is not returned from Frankford. And they trust shortly to meet together. At which time the matter shal be resolved for their part.

The Duke and Landgrave do much desire the expedition of their orators, and that they may be not long detained here. For they need to employ them also about other affaires. Wherfore I would be glad to know your Graces pleasure and determination about their audience or acces to your Highnes.

I understand by your said servants, that the league *evangelick* is always stedfast and constantly set to byde in their opinion; yea, and rather to dy than relent: and that they look that shortly the one part must have the upper hand, or the other. For they think Antichrist and the Devil wol not sleep, but ever practise to overcome the *evangelick* sort, which is now strong. And the things be so far gone, that either the *evangelicks* must destroy the Papists, or else the Papists them. As we trust it shal no more be in their power, than it is in the Devils power to overcome Christ, the very protector of the Gospel. I am assured these orators coming shal be very formidable to the Bishop of Rome, and to others of his adherents also. For doubtles, if your Majesty shal happen to joyn with them, the Papists, in my judgment, shal be half in dispair. Christopher hath confirmed the same that he wrot afore, that the Emperor above al things desired of them, that they should receive none other persons in that league; and that therupon hath been in their Diet the great striking at: as I am assured your Graces said servants may declare unto your Highnes. And also, how they have seen the fleet returned to Zealand, and that al the ships shal be dismist, and his artillery discharged and layd a land.

I am sory that I am not in the case, that I might attend to do service to your Majesty, as my duty and desire is. This night I have had ill rest. This is the day of the ac-274 cess of my fit. If I can escape it, I hope to be soon recovered. If it shal continue, then yet I wil do my best to overcome it the soonest I can. For I think the time very long, til I be better able to serve your Majesty. Whose honor and prosperity to encrease, I beseech Almighty God, with continuance of health and long life. From London, this xxiiii. April.

Your Majesties most humble and obedient
Subject and Servant,
Thomas Crumwell.

Number CV.

Erasmus Sarcerius ad Regem Henricum.

Cott. Librar.

GRATIAM et pacem a Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Serenissime Rex, cum paucis abhinc diebus, jussu illustris Principis Gulielmi Nassoviensis, Domini mei clementissimi, Francofordiæ venissem; reperi ibidem apud Dominum Philippum Melancthonem, tuæ Serenitatis legatos, viros et doctrina et morum integritate spectabiles: qui cum inter cætera audirent nomen meum, quæsierunt num ego essem Erasmus ille Sarcerius, qui *Methodum* in præcipuos Scripturæ locos edidisset. Respondi me illum esse. Quare statim occœperunt mihi significare, meam methodum, Serenitatis tuæ mandato, in linguam Anglicam esse versam, et jam Anglicè lo-

qui. Præterea addiderunt, ut si vellem Serenitati tuæ scribere, se curaturos, quo literæ meæ ad tuam Serenitatem deferrentur. Ego quanquam diu annuere noluerim admonitioni, quippe meo pede metiens me; hoc est, considerans et imperitiam meam, et imparis eruditionis vires, quibus possem tuæ Serenitati satisfacere, quæ tanto ingenio est prædita, ut illo nihil neque acutius neque sublimius sit, cum in sapiendo, tum in judicando: tamen audita tandem tuæ Serenitatis clementia in omnes studiosos, et sinceræ religionis amatores, scribere cœpi indoctis meis scriptis, tuæ Serenitati humiliter me commendans: cui si videro mea placere, porro curabo, ut T. S. brevi locos meos communes methodice congestos, auctiores accipiat, additis simul pluribus locis, et maxime vitiorum vocabulis, quibus [quorum] scriptura mentionem facit. Et quia in S. T. regnis vera religio jam plantatur, idcirco pro gloria Dei, et utilitate hominum, mittam et postillam in evangelia dominicalia, et festivalia; item in epistolas dominicales, et festivales, tuæ S. inscriptam. Deus servet regiam T. M. ad evangelii gloriam et pacem Ecclesiæ salvam ac incolumem. Francofordiæ, 10. Martii, anno 1539.

Erasmus Sarcerius,
T. S. A.

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Number CVI.

Places appointed for the new intended Bishops' seats: being all of King Henry's own hand writing.

Cleop. E. 4.
p. 304. b.

Counties.	Bishopricks to be made.
Essex	Waltham
Hertford	Saynt Albonys
Bedfordshire	Dunstable
Buckyngham-shire	Newenham Elveststone
Oxford and Barkshire	Osnay and Tame
Northampton and Huntyng.	Peterburrow
Mydelsex	Westminster
Lecestre and Rowtland	Leycester
Glocestershire	Saynt Peters
Lancaster	Fontayne and Tharchdeaconry of Rychemond
Suffolk	Bury
Stafford and Salop	Shrewsbury
Nottingham and Darby	Welbec Worsop and Turgarton
Cornwal	Lanceston Bedmynne with another.

Placys to be alteryd according to our devise, which have sees in them.

Chryst Chyrche in Canterbury. Saynt Swytynnys [in Winchester.]
Elye.
Durhame.
Rochester, with a part of Lydes.
Worcester.
And al other having the same.

Placys to be alteryd in colleges and scolles.

Worly.
Burton upon Trent.

So they stand in the King's MS. according to the placing and spelling: not so correct in the transcript thereof, in the Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 262.

Number CVII.

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A table drawn up in order to the founding new deaneries and colleges in divers places: with the endowments of the Bishops of the respective sees.

Ubi supra.

Al under this colume is added by the Kings hand: being persons by him nominated.	Decanatus et collegia.	Valor.			Unde pro portione Episcopi.		
HILBY [Thirlby perhaps]	Westminster	2859	16	0 *ob.*	804	0	0
	Winchester	1411	16	10			
	Worcester	1265	19	11 *ob.*			
Quondam abbas	Peterborough cum portione pro Episcopo	1189	9	10 *ob.*	333	6	8
Quondam Tewokebury	Gloucest. cum portione Episcopi	1074	5	5 *ob.*	333	6	8
	Durham	1739	5	4			
	Thorneton collegium	561	15	5			
	Burton collegium	508	15	8			
	Crystchurche	2582	3	11 *ob.*			
Doctor Heth	Rochester cum Ledes	800	5	1			
	Carlehyll	653	4	10 *ob.*			
Quondam abbas	Oseney cum Tame	1158	0	7	333	6	8
	Ely	1015	1	5 *ob.*			
Suffragan de Gysborn, Robt. Purseglove	Chester	1216	3	7 *ob.*	333	6	8
Dr. Day	Dunstable	1140	17	3	333	6	8
Wylson	Colchester	1003	0	5	333	6	8
HenricoManwell Paulo Bushe	Saynt Austyns in Bristow	1003	0	5	333	6	8
Jhon Bouchier of Leycester quondam abbas	Shrewsbery	1003	0	5	333	6	8
Dr. Tresham	Bodmyn cum Lanceston	1003	0	5	333	6	8
Dr. Cocks	Southwel [in Nottinghamshire] in loco Fountayne.	1003	0	5	336	6	8

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Number CVIII.

Dr. Heynes to a certain courtier; concerning the bill of the Six Articles.

Cleopatra, E. 5.

I SHAL write to you as I am wont to speak unto you; not doubting but that you wil semblably think I write this my mind of good wil. At Eaton, within this sevenight, there was a stout Priest, that blazed abroad triumphantly, that *transubstantiation* is determined to be believed as an article of our faith, &c. and two other things. I wil not now dispute the truth of such matters, as a Divine, but confess mine ignorance in holy Scriptures, (if such three things be determined to be established, and to be believed *jure divino*,) and give place to my superiors. But certainly I cannot believe, that so learned a King, having such a great number of learned Bishops in H. Scripture, wil determine such three things as truths, confirmed by authority of H. Scripture, without any expres word of God written. For there can nothing (I write as I believe) be decreed, nor made by man, to be an article of our faith, except the same be manifestly grounded upon H. Scripture written, or at the least wise manifestly and plainly deduced out of H. Scripture written. As I think none of these three things, which are bruted to be determined, can be proved to be instituted by God, and *ex jure divino:* except men should use Scripture for the setting forth these things, as the Bishop of Rome used Scriptures for to prove his authority to be *ex jure divino.* Whether [wherfore] I cannot give any firm credence to such vain brutes as goeth abroad.

Nevertheles, because there is such a constant fame therof, which I sorrowfully hear, I pray you suffer me, and hear my smal reason that I would make, if I were a Burgess of the Kings Graces Parlament, for the Kings Graces honor, and safty of his Graces former procedings. Wherof, although I can no skil, and they do pertain nothing to me, yet my wil is as good, and my heart as faithful as any wise mans is, if you should perceive, that I had either wit or learning to furnish my will. And the Kings Grace being as he is, my gracious good Lord and Soveraign, unto whom I owe mine obedience, I think I should not do the office of a true subject, if I should not shew unto some, that be neer unto his Grace, my simple conceit, and warn him of such dangers as I perceive be imminent, in case these matters should on this maner be determined. His Grace hath not used to procede suddenly in such great matters: and therfore my trust is, that with great advisement his Majesty wil end these controversies, according to the true meaning of H. Scriptures.

But al disputes in matters of learning layd apart, methinketh it were expedient for the Kings Gr. and his Councellors, to weigh first the truth and likliness of these matters, and therupon to deliver whether his Majesty may, with a safe conscience before God, put unto his subjects any articles to be believed as necessary for their salvation, that cannot be proved by H. Scripture written. 2d. Whether such articles of our faith, made without authority of holy 278
Scripture for a common quietnes and tranquillity in a commonwealth, wil cause tranquillity or disquietnes: that the Kings Majesty being counted in al the world a Christian Catholic Prince, and wel learned in H. Scriptures, and such a Prince as hath set forward the Gospel within his realm; whether this shal be honorable unto his Grace and his realm, to determine these matters in such wise as, the fame goeth, they are now determined. 3dly. If the Kings Grace, with his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c. should establish these things to bee true *jure divino*, without authority of holy Scripture; or else by authority wrong understanded, it were good to remember, that the Emperor and the Fr. King hath the same authority in their dominions that our master hath here: and therfore may in their councils decree other things to be true *jure divino*, of Scriptures likewise wrong understond. And so hath the Bishop of Rome in his dominions, and al the Princes of Italy and Germany. And if every one of them severally hath within their own dominions like power, much more when the Legates of al these Princes and divers nations meeting together at a ge-

neral council, may determine things to be institute of God in his H. Scripture, by Scriptures wrong understond. As for example, these things following hath been so determined, yet untrue:

I. *Episcopus Romanus est jure divino Caput universalis Ecclesiæ, juxta illud;* Tu es Petrus, &c. Quodcunque solveritis super terram, &c. Pasce oves meas, &c. And such things may in like maner be also now determined, as is,

II. *Episcopus Romanus est Rex Regum et Dominus universæ terræ jure divino, juxta illud;* Regnum ipsius omnibus dominabitur, &c. Data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra. These men that write thus allege Scripture.

III. *Vota monachorum non sunt rescindenda, quia jure divino unusquisque tenetur votum suum præstare, juxta illud;* Vovete et reddite: *ut item,* Habentes damnationem, quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt. If men believe Doctors and wrong-taken Scriptures in al things found in writers, these aforesaid Scriptures wrong understond: if Doctors shal establish these three old abuses to be *jure divino,* as wel as the Parlament in this realm shal establish these three things bruted abroad, now to be authorized *jure divino,* [great may the danger hereof be.] And know not what the importunity of some men meaneth, to provoke the Kings Majesty to decree these matters in this maner, except it were to enforce his Grace to allow, by this sly and craft, al things that shal be decreed by the Emperor, and the Bishop of Rome, in their *general council,* as they cal it; and so compel himself unawares finally to undoe al that his Grace hath done heretofore against the Bishop of Rome, monks and friars, &c.

It is, in my simple opinion, the most perillous enterprize, (al reasoning in learning of H. Scripture, and love of Christs religion layd apart,) and most dangerous thing to the Kings Grace and this realm, and the worst example that can be imagined given to the Bishop of Rome, to determine any thing in this realm to be Gods wil, and to establish any thing therin, for any article of our faith, without the expres witnes of H. Scripture, as his Grace and his realm standeth. For as his Grace wil have every man to con- 279 ceive a true good opinion of his procedings; so the Bishop of Rome, the Emperor, and other Princes, wil look for the same at his Graces hand of their procedings. Therfore what peril and danger there is further to be feared in such decrees more than I have, or can here express, I leave to wise men to consider.

I may peradventure fear, by lack of wit, that is not to be feared; and cast upon such things as are not like to come to pas; and I am contented so to be reported, of you that love me, for a fool: nevertheles the love towards my Prince and my country moveth me to write as I do, and to fear that I fear. And your accustomed friendship causeth me to utter my foolish fantasy without fear. Trusting, that if this seem to you foolishnes, you wil not, of hatred, blow my foolishnes abroad, but friendly bear it, as you have don other my boldnes. From Windesor, this Wednesday.

Your own,
S. Heynes.

Number CIX.

A Book of Ceremonies.

The points touched in this book concerning ceremonies.

CHURCHES and church yards, the hallowing and reconciling them. Cleopatra, E. 5. p. 259.

The ceremonies about the sacrament of Baptism.

Ordering of the Ministers of the Church in general.

Divine service to be said and sung in the church.

Mattins, prime, and hours.

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Bearing candles upon Candlemas-day.

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280 The hallowing of the font upon Saturday in the Easter-even.

The ceremonies of the resurrection in Easter-morning.

General and other particular processions.

Benedictions of Bishops or Priests.

Holy water and holy bread.

A general doctrin, to what intent ceremonies be ordained, and of what value they be of.

Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England.

Though it be very truth, that there is a great difference betwixt the commandments and works expressed by Scripture necessary for a Christian mans life and salvation, and rites and ceremonies devised by men: bycause the works contained in Scripture are the expres comandments of God; which may not be infringed, taken away, or changed by any men; and the other said rites and ceremonies are appointed and ordained by men: which, upon causes reasonable, may, from time to time, by governors and men of authority, be altered and changed: yet soche ordenances, rites, and ceremonies, devised by soche as are in authority, for a decent order, quietnes, and tranquillity, ought (al abuses and superstructions therby taken away) to be with al reverend obedience observed by the people, not as works and workers for their salvation, but as a godly policy, and ordinances made and devised by Christian governors; to the intent, as S. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xiv. that things should be don and used among the Christian congregation with an honest reverence and a decent order.

And therfore to the end that this Church of England may be comely and quietly ordered, and wel instructed, it is thought meet and convenient, that the orders, and ceremonies, and rites following, should be in the Church honestly, obediently, and reverently kept and observed.

The Church.

And first of al, to have a common house for Christian people, which we call *the church,* is very necessary, that there they may come together; wheras the word of God is preached, the sacraments are ministred, and prayers, as wel of the people as the Ministers, to Almighty God are made; both for them that be alive, and also for them that be departed in the faith of Christ. Wherfore it is convenient that place and the altars there to be sanctified, washed, and prepared with prayers.

Sanctified; that is to say, *separated* from al profane uses, and *dedicated* to the end before rehersed. And therfore no Christian person should abuse the same, either with eating, drinking, buying, selling, playing, danceing, diceing, or with any other profane and worldly matter. For al sobernes, quietnes, and godlines, ought there to be used.

Washed; To admonish al Christen people to wash in- 281
wardly their own hearts and consciences; which be the living temples of God, before they shal approch to the use of any holy mystery there.

Prepared with prayers; That the sacraments, there ministred, may be acceptable to Almighty God: and that it may please him to hear the humble and devout prayers of the people there; and that al things there don and heard by them may be to commodity and wealth of their souls.

The Churchyard.

And albeit that a glorious sepulture is not profitable to the wicked man; and a vile sepulture hurteth not the good man; yet to put us in remembrance of death, that we may leave sin and wickednes, and to testify our faith and hope of the resurrection of our bodies again: therfore it is convenient, that the churchyard, for a place of common burial for Christian people, should be sanctified and hallowed.

And if it chance the same to be polluted, we think it meet to be reconciled again. And the sepultures of Christian men, with good and godly prayer now used, and other ceremonies belonging unto the same, are very laudable and convenient.

The rites and ceremonies observed about the sacrament of Baptism.

First, The Catechism which goeth before the baptism: and it is as much to say as a *teaching* and an *instruction.* For in the primitive Church, when many came to the Christian faith, at the year of age and discretion, it was used that such, before they were admitted to baptism, should be taught the Articles of the Faith, and the sum of Christian religion, and should promptly and readily render the same to their Pastors or Curats. Which were yet to be used, if that any soch would desire to receive baptism. But in baptism of infants, which for lack of age cannot be instructed, the Priest shortly expresseth there soch instructions; and then chargeth the godfathers and godmothers further to teach the child or children, when they come to lawful age; and then beginneth to make a cros upon the forehead of the child that is offered to be baptized; entokening, that he is commen to be professed, and totally to be dedicated to Christ crucified; whom he wil never be ashamed openly before men to confes and knowledge.

Then he maketh another cros upon the breast, from whence cometh the belief; signifying, that it is not enough to confes Christ with mouth openly, unles he doth stedfastly believe in heart inwardly. And therfore the Minister calleth Almighty God to take away the blindnes of his heart, and to make him apt to receive grace given in baptism.

And then he putteth hallowed salt into his mouth, to signify the spiritual salt, which is the word of God, wherwith he should be seasoned and powdered; that therby the filthy
282 savour of stinking sin should be taken away; preserving him from corruption, and making him a more apt vessel to continue in the moisture of wholsome and godly wisdom. And therfore the Minister prayeth, that he may be re-

plenished with heavenly food, and that he, receiving this grace of baptism, may obtain everlasting reward.

Then the Minister maketh a sign of the cros in the childs forehead; adjuring the Devil to depart, and no more to approch to him, but to knowledg his sentence of damnation, and to give glory unto God, and to Jesus Christ, which triumphed upon the cros over him in his own person: praying that this child, now purged from the wicked spirit, may be the sanctified temple of the H. Ghost.

After this is read the Gospel, taken out of Matthew, 19th chapter; beginning, *Oblati sunt Jesu pueri*, &c. Wherin is shewed, that the oblation of young children is acceptable to Christ. Of whose Church, without baptism, they cannot be made members. Wherfore the people, according to this ample, offereth their children to the Minister to be baptized.

Then the Minister wetteth with spittle the nose-thurles and ears of him that shal be baptized; putting us in remembrance of the miracle of the deaf and dumb wrought by Christ, who, looking up into heaven, putteth his spittle with his fingers to his ears, and touching his tongue, saith, *Ephatha*, that is to say, *Be opened.* And so he healed him: signifying therby the grace and godly influence descending from heaven, which, by the operation of the H. Ghost, openeth our nose to take the sweet savour, and savour of the knowledg of Christ; and our ears to hear his word and commandments.

Then the Minister exhorteth the godfathers and godmothers, with al others that are present, to pray to God, that the child may worthily receive the blessed sacrament of Baptism, to the honor of God, to the salvation of his soul, and confusion of our ghostly enemy the Devil: and so the Minister and al they together say, *Pater Noster.*

Then immediatly the Minister maketh the sign of the cros in the right hand of the infant. Which cross should, in al our life time, admonish us valiantly to defend Christ, and withstand the crafty assaults of our enemy the Devil, and al our corrupt and perverse affections and desires.

And so blessing the child in the name of the Father, the Son, and the H. Ghost, taketh it by the right hand, and biddeth it enter into the Church, there to be admitted as one of Christs flock and congregation, and so procedeth to the font.

And there entring towards the baptism, first, inquisition is made of the name of him that should be baptized, to the intent that by giving in his name, he may now profess himself to a new master Christ. For of a custom such professions were made by such inscriptions, and giving in of their names.

The words within these two marks ‖ ‖ are added in the margin by Bishop Gardiner's own hand.

Then there followeth a stipulation made under prescript words: the Minister demanding certain questions, and he that is baptized, or his sureties, making answer to any questions or demands particularly. ‖ Which demands, questions, and answers, (to the intent the godfathers and godmothers, with others there present, may know what is a Christen mans profession at his baptism,) we think it very convenient and meet to be uttered hereafter in the English tongue ‖. And first to this interrogation of the Minister:

283 The Minister saith, Forsakest thou the Devil? He, or his sureties for him, answereth, I forsake him. The Minister saith, And al his works? It is answered, I forsake them. The Minister saith, And al his pomps and vanities? The answer is, I forsake them.

After this the Minister with holy oyl anointeth the child before upon his breast, and behind between his shoulders. Which unction upon the breast signifyeth that our hearts and affections should be wholly dedicated to Christ, and established in a perfect faith in his mercy; which the oyl doth commonly signify in Scripture. And the anointing between the shoulders with the sign of the cross, signifieth, that we should be bold and strong to bear the yoke of our Lord; and particularly to sustain soch cros of persecution, trouble, and affliction, as our most merciful Lord shal lay upon us.

Then further, the Minister maketh inquisition of his belief that is to be christned, saying, Believest thou in God, the Almighty Father, maker of heaven and earth? It is answered, I believe. The Minister saith, Believest thou in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord? &c. The answer is made, I believe. The Minister saith, Believest thou in the H. Ghost, the holy Catholick Church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and after death to have everlasting life? It is answered, I believe. Al which promise and profession of renouncing the old errors, and believing and embracing the truth, made in baptism, every Christen man ought to have in his often remembrance.

And after this the Minister saith unto him that is to be baptized, these words, What asketh thou? It is answered, Baptism. The Minister demaundeth further, Wilt thou be baptized? It is answered, I wil. For there is no man saved against his wil, but willingly. For as man by his own freewil obeying the serpent did perish; so when God calleth by grace, by the conversion of his own mind every man truly believing, and intending to work, accordingly is saved.

Then the Minister calleth the child by the name, and baptizeth it in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the H. Ghost; putting it into the water of the font, and taking it out again. Or else pouring water upon the infant. Wherby the person christened hath not only remission of al his sins by the operation of the H. Ghost; but also by the same is signified the death and resurrection of Christ, the only cause of our health and salvation. And moreover, that we should dayly mortify our evil desires and corrupt affections, and so, washed from sin, walk in a new, pure, and godly life and conversation.

Then after this baptism, he is anointed with holy chrism on the head, as the supreme and principal part of man. Signifying therby, that he is made a Christen man by the hede of the congregation, and that he is anointed with the spiritual unction of the H. Ghost; that by his assistance and grace he may obtain everlasting life.

Then he that is baptized is clothed in a white vesture, in token of his manumission and freedome from his former captivity of the Devil. And it signifieth also a Christen purity and innocence, which, after the washing away of the spots of his old sins, he ought studiously to conserve and keep, and so to come to the presence of Christ at the day of judgment, and remain with him in glory everlasting.

284 Finally, The Minister putteth a candle light in the right hand of him that is baptized, in token that he should, through al his life time, shew before al men a light of good example and godly works: that he may be alwayes in a readines with the saints to meet our Lord, and receive the fruition of everlasting joy.

Ministers.

The ceremonies, observances, and prayers, said and don in the consecrations of Bishops, and giving Orders to Priests and Deacons, Subdeacons, and other inferior Ministers, as heretofore hath been accustomed, and as it was devised in the books called *Pontificalls*, (al maner of things concerning the pretenced and usurped power of the Bishop of Rome abolished and utterly put aside, and the Kings most right and true supremacy, with al things in the same in any wise appertaining and belonging, always observed and obeyed,) be very laudable and expedient to be used. For by these ceremonies and observances every man in his order, state, and degree, is admonished what appertaineth to their offices. And the prayers be made to God, that they truly, sincerely, and devoutly may use the ministration to them committed to Gods honor, spiritual comfort of themselves, and al other Christian people.

Service in the Church.

The service used in the Church, dayly in some places, or upon the Sundays and other feasts in al places; that is to say, mattins, prime hours, even-song, and complene: whereof the most part is of Scripture, as the Psalmes, and manytimes the legends (certain things added by men wel reformed) are very expedient and good, both for that the

Ministers calleth and giveth thanks to God for themselves and for the people; and also that by the example of their prayers they move and excite the people to pray with them. And therfore the adorning of the same service, surplices, copes, and other vestures and ceremonies in the doing therof, are very laudable and comely.

The sober, discrete, and devout singing, music, and playing with organs, used in the church in the service of God, are ordained to move and stere the people to the sweetnes of Gods word, the which is there sung: and by that sweet harmony both to excite them to prayer and devotion, and also to put them in remembrance of the heavenly triumphant Church, where is everlasting joy, continual laud, and praise to God.

Ceremonies used in the Mass.

Forasmuch as divers goeth about to represent the Mas, and, as much as in them is, to draw Christs flock from hearing therof, taking it as a thing of a little and smal value, and the ceremonies of the same for a mocking and a mumming; calling them *dumb ceremonies:* therfore to the 285
intent that the Mass may be the more regarded, and the mouths of such as calumniate and reprehend the same, stopped, it is to be understanded, that the Mas is a remembrance of the passion of Christ, whose most blessed body and bloud is there consecrated. And the ceremonies therof be not *dumb*, but they be expressives and declaratives of his said passion. To the intent that, by soche signes and ceremonies, they that be present thereat may the better be admonished and reduced into the memory of the same.

And first, It is to be understanded, that the Priest is a common Minister in the name and sted of the whole congregation, and, as the mouth of the same, not only rendreth thanks unto God for Christs death and passion, but also maketh the common prayer, and commendeth the people and their necessities in the same unto Almighty God.

The Priest therfore, when he shal say Mas, saith it not in his common apparel which he daily useth, but putteth upon him clean and hallowed vestments, partly representing the mysteries that were don in the time of his passion; partly representing the vertues that he himself ought to have that celebrates the Mass.

And first, He putteth on the *amyss*, which, as touching the mystery, signifieth the vail, with which the Jews covered the face of Christ when they buffetted him in time of his passion. And as touching the Minister, it signifieth faith, which is the head, ground, and foundation of al vertues. And therfore he putteth that upon his head first. Second, He putteth upon him the *albe*, which, as touching the mystery, signifieth the white garment wherewith Herod clothed Christ in mocking, when he sent him to Pilate. As touching the Minister, it signifieth his promise of conscience and innocency, the which he ought to have especially when he singeth the Mas.

The *girdle*, as touching the mystery, signifieth the whip or scourge wherewith Christ was whipped. As touching the Minister, it signifieth the continent and chast living, or else the close mind which he ought to have in prayer when he celebrateth.

The *stole*, as touching the mystery, signifieth the ropes and bonds that Christ was bound with to the pillars when he was scourged. And as touching the Minister, it signifieth the yoke of patience, which he must bear as the servant of God. In token wherof he putteth also the *phanon* upon his arm; which admonisheth him of ghostly strength and godly patience that he ought to have, to vanquish and overcome al carnal infirmity.

The over-visor, or *chesible*, as touching the mystery, signifieth the purple mantle that Pilates soldiers put upon Christ after that they had scourged him. And as touching the Minister, it signifieth charity, a vertue excellent above al hers.

The Minister, the which shal celebrate, in the beginning cometh forth as it were from some secret place, to the midst of the altar; signifying therby, that Christ, which is the High Priest, came from the secret bosom of his Father, and

virginal cloister of his mother, into this world, to offer sacrifice for mans redemption. And albeit that that sacrifice be a sufficient price and redemption for al the world, yet it is not efficient or effectual, but only to them which know- 286
ledgeth themselves with penance to be sinners: whom he came to justify, as he saith himself, *Non veni vocare justos sed peccatores.*

Therfore the Minister, in the beginning, teacheth al men by his *confession*, to supplicate and knowledg themselves sinners, and to ask remission, to the intent they may be the more apt to be participant of this soch mystery. *Nam justos in principio accusator est sui.*

Then after this followeth *Kyrie eleyson*, and *Christe eleyson;* which be words of desire, and to pray God for mercy. Which mercy we cannot have of our deserts, but of Gods goodnes and Christs merits only. And therfore the Minister proceding to the midst of the altar, rendreth the glory unto God, saying the angels hymn and song, *Gloria in excelsis Deo:* that is to say, *Glory be unto God in heaven.* Wherby we be learned, not only to know that we receive al our benefits of God, being bound to give him thanks therfore, but also the means wherby we receive them, which is by the mediation of Christ, that is both God and man, by whom the Father is pleased and reconciled, angels and men agreed.

Then, this song don, the Minister and the people with *salutations* exhort each other to prayer. In which he prayeth as wel for the multitude as for himself. And therfore it is called *collecta.* And it is directed to the Father, and commonly concluded with these words, *per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*, &c. Which sheweth and declareth unto us, that we be only heard by Christ, and that our prayer is by him valuable; and by our selves without him of no value. And when the prayer is ended, the people expresseth their desirous minds to be heard, and answereth, *Amen*, which signifieth, *So be it.*

After that prayer made, then the Priest, as a meet Minister to teach the people, readeth to them the *Epistle*, which is a lesson taken out of the Old and New Testament, and it precedeth the Gospel, and prepareth the minds therunto, like as John prepared unto Christ, and the old Law unto grace. And Christ sent the disciples into divers places to preach before his coming; wherby the people should be made more apt to receive the heavenly doctrin of the Gospel, and with a true faith believe the rewards and benefits promised in the same.

Next to the Epistle ensueth the *Graial;* the which teacheth also soch wholesome doctrin as was taught before in the Epistle, that they proceding in vertue, by degrees, may procede from vertue to vertue, until soche time as they may se Almighty God in his glory. And therfore followeth a song of gladnes, called *The Alleluia*, that is to say, *Laud ye God;* both to admonish us to remember God with a glad mind, and also with soch mind to prepare our selfe to the hearing of the Gospel, and the joyful promises of the same.

Then followeth the *Gospel*, which is a glad message or tidings. For therin is contained the glad news of our salvation, the which the angels shewed to the shepheards at Christs coming, saying, *Ecce! evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum*, &c. Therfore the Church with light, and other ceremonies of gladnes and peace, readeth it to the people, standing up presently to hear the same; declaring therby their prompt and ready minds that they have to the doctrin
287 of the Gospel. And forasmuch as faith springeth of the word of God, therfore divers days the Church, after the Gospel read, pronounceth with a loud voice the Creed, expressing the faith with her mouth, which before she conceived in her heart, according to S. Paul's saying, *Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.*

Then followeth the *offertory;* wherby we be learned to prepare our selves by Gods grace to be an acceptable oblation to him, to the intent we may be partakers of the blessed sacrifices which Christ offered for us upon the cross.

At which time the Minister, laying the bread upon the altar, maketh the *chalice*, mixing the water with the wine;

signifying therby how that bloud and water ran out of Christs side in his passion, and admonisheth us of the inseparable coupling and joyning of Christ and his Church together.

Then after the offertory don, the Priest *washeth* his hands; knowledging himself not to be so clean, but that he hath ever need more to be washed, according to the saying of David, *Wash me, Lord, more and more from my wickednes, and cleanse me from my sin.*

Then after followeth a *prayer secretly* said, which is called *The secret of the Mas;* and that signifieth Christs secret and privy conversation which he kept with his disciples a little before his passion. For after the determinate sentence of death, conspired by Caiaphas and the Jews against him, he walketh no more among them openly, but among his disciples secretly.

Next after the *secret* followeth the *preface;* which is a proloquution or prayer going before the most reverend consecration of Christs body and bloud; preparing the minds of his faithful people to the reverence of the same, and moving them to erect their hearts to Almighty God, giving him thanks for his inestimable benefits; with desiring that their voice, joined with the company of angels in one consent of laud and praise, proceding as wel from the Church triumphant as militant, unite and knit together, may, without end, sing this seraphical hymn and song, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*, to the laud of the blessed Trinity, whose glory replenisheth heaven and earth.

Then after this *preface* followeth the *canon*, which is said secretly of the Priest, not because it is unlawful to be heard, read, or known of the people, but that it is expedient to keep silence and secrecy at the time of soch a high mystery, that both the Priest and the people may have the more devout meditation, and the better attend about the same.

Then the Priest, to represent in this sacrifice of the Mas the most painful and bloudy sacrifice once offered for our salvation upon the cross, prayeth the Father to accept these gifts prepared for the consecration; and enclining his body maketh a cross upon the altar, and kisseth it; signifying therby the humble enclining and willing obedience of Christ to his Fathers wil, to suffer his passion upon the altar of the cros for our salvation.

And then, following the example of Christ the High Bishop, which approching the time of his passion, gave himself to prayer, and also according to the Apostles doc-
288 trine to Timothy, the Minister giveth himself to prayer. First in general for the universal Church: of the which he desireth peace and preservation. Second, For princes and rulers; making an honorable mention of the saints which be departed. And first, of our Lady, the twelve Apostles, and as many martyrs, which either by their bodily presence preaching, or their bloud shedding, in their life time did bear witnes and testimony to Christs passion, joyning them as it were both in one communion and participation of Christ's death and merits, which hath deserved as wel grace to the one as glory to the other: desiring God, by their prayers, to protect and defend the whole congregation of al Christians.

And after certain prayers and petitions for the people, and also that the oblation may be acceptable to God, he procedeth with al reverence to the *consecration.*

First of the bread, taking it in his hands and giving thanks, following the example of Christ: by vertue and power of whose words the substance of bread is turned into the substance of the body of Christ; and likewise the substance of wine into his precious bloud. Which he lifteth up, both that the people with al reverence and honor may worship the same; and also to signify therby partly Christs exaltation upon the cros for our redemption, which was figured by the serpent set up by Moses in the desert, and partly signifying that triumphant advancement and exaltation, wherewith God his Father, because of his passion, hath exalted him above al creatures; bidding the people to have it in remembrance as oft as they shal do the same.

After the which, the Priest extendeth and stretcheth abroad his armes in form of a cross; declaring therby, that according to Christs commandment, both he and the people not only have the fresh remembrance of his passion, but also of his resurrection and glorious ascension; and so proceedeth to the second *memento*, in which he prayeth for them that be dead in the faith of Christ, and sleep in peace, that it might please God to grant them a place of refreshing light and peace.

Then he joyneth himself with the people; *knocking* upon his breast: therby teaching them, that he and they both be sinners, and have need of mercy and grace, purchased by Christs passion; and desireth Almighty God to give them a society with the holy Apostles and Martyrs, not as an esteemer of their merits, but as a merciful graunter of remission, and that by Christ; by whom he worketh and graunteth al these benefits. Wherfore al honor and glory is to be rendred to him by Christ, and with Christ the H. Ghost, being knit in unity unto them.

And then expressing with a loud voice, how long this honor and glory is due to God, *per omnia secula seculorum*, that is to say, *perpetually;* the Church answering, *Amen*, So be it.

The Priest then, to the intent he may the more worthily receive the holy and blessed body and bloud of Christ, both to the comfort and strength, as wel of him as them that be present, saith the *Pater Noster*, asking of God this heavenly and celestial bread, with deliverance from al evils, and encreas of quietnes and peace. And so discovering the chalice, intokening that Christ would the fruit of his passion to be opened and manifest to al the world, taketh the host and breaketh it, and divideth it, intokening of the distribution 289
of it among his disciples at the last supper, and the breaking of his body the time of his passion. At which supper, above al things, he commendeth unto them peace and charity, saying, *Pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis.* And therfore the Minister taketh the kiss of peace from the bl. Sacrament, and sendeth it to the people, saluting each other *in osculo sancto*, as biddeth S. Paul: admonishing therby of the fraternal and mutual peace and concord

which they ought to have, without the which peace and concord, this communion, or sacrament of common union, is to them nothing profitable, but much damnable.

Then saith the Priest thrice, *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi*, &c. advertising us of three effects of Christs passion: wherof the first is, deliverance from the misery of sin. The second is, from pain of everlasting damnation; whereof he saith twice, *Miserere nobis*, that is to say, *Have mercy on us*. And the third effect is, giving of everlasting peace, consisting in the glorious fruition of God. Wherfore he saith, *Dona nobis pacem*, that is to say, *Give us peace*.

Then followeth the *commixtion* of the body and blood of Christ together; signifying the joyning together of his body and soul in the resurrection, which before were severed at the time of his passion.

And albeit there be two consecrations, yet there is but one Sacrament, containing under each form the holy body and bloud of Christ inseparable.

Then followeth the *communion*, which is an exciting or a moving to the people to laud and praise God. And because in the primitive Church, when devotion was fervent, divers used manitimes to receive it together with the Priests, therfore in the prayer called *The Post Communion*, the Priest, in the name of them al, prayeth and rendreth thanks unto God for their spiritual refection *per Dominum nostrum*; by whose passion exhibit the Mas hath his strength and efficacy.

Then the Priest eftsones turning his face to the people, after the salutation, saith these words, *Ite, Missa est*: that is to say, *Go ye, the Mas is ended*. And in that he biddeth them *go* is signified, that we ought to follow Christ in his holy life, and always to be *going* from vertue to vertue, and not to stand and tary in the worldly plesure, but diligently to hast us to the life everlasting; and that we may be of the number of them to whom it shal be said, *Venite benedicti*; that is to say, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom*, and so forth.

The Priest giveth at the departure, sometime, the benediction in the name of the whole Trinity, signifying that the last benediction, which Christ gave to his disciples in the mount of Olivet, when he ascended to his Father: where he sitteth on his right hand a continual intercessor for us. To whom be al laud and praise for ever, *Amen.*

Sundays with other Feasts.

The Sundays are to be continued and employed in the service of God, to hear the word preached, to give thanks for the benefits which we receive dayly. And that day is much to be regarded, both for the antiquity, and also for 290 that it is a memorial of Christs resurrection: wherby we ought to be stirred to erect our minds from earthly things to heavenly contemplations of Christs glorified nature: by that conceiving also a certain hope of our resurrection and eternal glory.

The *feasts* of our Lord divers times in the year, received and approved as holy and solemn days, are to be kept in their accustomable veneration and solemnity, as wel for the sundry causes before rehersed, as also for that they represent unto us the manifold and inestimable benefits of our redemption; as the incarnation of Christ, his apparition, passion, resurrection, ascension, the sending down of the H. Ghost, and soch other.

The feasts of *saints*, as divers, of our bl. Lady, of the Apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins; soch as are not abrogated, or otherwise ordered by the high governor, are to be used in godly exercise and due veneration, according to the approved custom. Because that in those days we remember the high gifts of God in them: and for those not only to glorify him, but also to pray him that we may have like grace here to follow their example of godly living, and at the last attain with them that everlasting life, and the state that they be in.

Bells.

Bells are ordained to cal the Ministers and people to the church in times convenient: admonishing them to come to the preaching of the word of God, the ministration of the sacraments, the divine service and prayers in the church for the time used: to give knowledg of our Christian brother or sister departed this world; that both we may cal to our remembrance our own mortality, and also be moved with charity to pray for them so departed.

Vesture and tonsure of the Ministers of the Church, and what service they be bound unto.

It is convenient, that Bishops, Priests, and al other soch as hath Orders, and continue in their ministration, for an honest difference to be known from other persons, should not only wear certain maner of vestures and other raiment; but also for a like difference to have, according to their order and degree, a convenient crown, with other honest tonsure in their hair.

It is also laudable and convenient, that, except sicknes, or any other reasonable impediment, every Bishop, Priest, and others having Orders, and continuing in their administration, shal dayly say divine service, that is to say, mattins, prime hours, even song, and compline; and soch as are Bishops and Priests, divers times to say Mas. And that they may say it the more oftentimes, they ought to pray for grace, and dispose themselves accordingly.

291 *Bearing Candles on Candlemas-day.*

Bearing *candles* on Candlemas-days, is a very good usage in memory of Christ the spiritual light; of whom Simeon did expres, as is read in the church that day.

Fasting Dayes.

Fasting certain times and dayes in the year, as abstinence in Lent, and other times received and appointed to be kept, and not changed or abrogated, are very laudable, and, without a just and reasonable cause, to the contrary ought to be observed according to the custome of this realm. For tho the maner of fasting, and certain days of fasting, are not expressed in Scripture; yet we ought to fast, by the teaching of the Scripture, as it appeareth in many places of the same, both in the Old and New Testament. For it is a godly exercise, both to subdue and mortify the fleshly appetites, and also to make the person more apt to prayer. And therfore our master Christ, for our example, not only fasted, but also did teach us, that when we fast, wee should beware of hypocrisy.

The giving of Ashes.

The giving of *ashes* upon Ashwednesday, with these words, *Remember, man, that thou art ashes, and to ashes thou shalt return*, is to put us in remembrance, in the beginning of Lent, of our frail nature, and uncertainty of this life here. Wherfore it were very good and convenient to expres the same in English to the understanding of unlearned persons.

The covering of the cros and images in Lent.

The *covering* of the cros and the images in Lent, with the discovering of the same at the resurrection, signifieth not only the darknes of infidelity, which covered the face of the Jews in the Old Testament, but also the dark knowledg that they had of Christ: which was the perfection and end of the Law, and not yet opened unto the time of his death and resurrection.

And the same partly is signified by the vail, which hid the secrets of *sancta sanctorum* from the people; and in the time of Christs passion was opened, that al men might se it, and have a ready entrance therunto: the H. Ghost signifying, as saith S. Paul, that the way of holines was not yet opened so long as the first tabernacle was standing; nor the way of life, as the Prophet saith, was known before.

Bearing of Palmes. 292

Bearing of *palmes* on Palm Sunday, in memory of receiving of Christ into Jerusalem a little before his death; that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts.

The service of Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, before Easter.

The service upon Wednesday, Thursday, and Good

Friday, differeth from other service in the year; and the Church useth then lamentable and mournful ceremonies: reading the lessons of the Lamentations of Jeremy, signifying a heavines. For so much as the Jews at that time travailed and sought by al means to attach Christ, and bring him to his death. And the same service is called *Tenebres:* because that Christ walked not then openly as he was wont to do, but kept himself secretly with his disciples in a city called Ephrem, til it pleased him willingly to come and suffer his passion for our salvation.

The candles in those nights, first light and then put out at every Psalm and Lesson, signifieth the manifold lights given to the holy Prophets before the coming of Christ, which at this time were darkned. For the world was then in an infidelity, and the cruel Jews did not only put the former Prophets to death, but also then they practised the death of Christ, the head of al Prophets; which shortly after they accomplished, to their confusion, and our salvation.

Upon Shier Thursday, as we call it, most principally it is to be considered, that our Savior did institute the most bl. Sacrament of the Altar. For then he both gave to his disciples his most blessed body to eat, and his most precious bloud to drink, the very same that afterward was betrayed for us, and put to death, rose and ascended. He washed also the same day the feet of his disciples, teaching humblenes, and very love and charity by his example.

The hallowing of Oyl and Chrism.

Oyl and chrism are this day consecrated; which signifieth principally the imperial and priestly dignity of Christ, and his anointing with the spiritual unction of the H. Ghost above al creatures: admonishing us of our state and condition. For as of *chrisma* Christ was named, so of *Christ* we be called *Christians.* And secondarily, it signifieth defacing and abolishing of the rites and consecrations of the old Law, which were done in oyl. And therfore at this time the old oyl is burnt and destroyed, and new consecrated:

signifying therby our new regeneration in Christ, and holy inunction, which we have by the H. Spirit.

The washing of the Altars. 293

It is a laudable custom the same day to wash the altars, and to prepare with al cleannes the places, wheras the most bl. Sacrament shal be ministred: and also to be for us a remembrance, that as those things inanimate are washed and cleansed for that purpose, so we ought much more to prepare and wash our minds and consciences at al times; and especially at this time, for the more worthy receiving of the same most high Sacrament.

Upon Good Friday is renewed yearly the remembrance of the blessed passion. Wherfore that day, among other godly ceremonies to be continued, is the *creeping* to the cros. Where we humble our selves to Christ before the same, offering unto him, and kissing of his cros, in memory of our redemption by Christ upon the cros.

And that day is prepared and wel adorned the *sepulture*, in remembrance of his sepulture, which was prophesied by the Prophet Esay to be glorious. Wherin is layd the image of the cros, and the most bl. Sacrament. To signify, that there was buried no corps nor body that could be putrified or corrupt, but the pure and undefiled body of Christ without spot of sin: which was never separated from the Godhead. And therfore, as David prophesied in the xv. Psalm, *it could not se corruption*, nor death could not detain nor hold him: but he should rise again to our great hope and comfort. And therefore the Church adorneth it with lights, to expres the great joy that they have of that glorious triumph over death, the Devil, and hell.

The hallowing of the Font upon Saturday in the Easter even.

Upon Saturday Easter-even is hallowed the font; which is as it were *vestigium*, or a remembrance of baptism, that was used in the primitive Church. At which time and Pentecost, there is used in the Church two solemne baptizings, and much concourse of people come unto the same.

The first was at Easter time, because that the mystery of baptism agreeth wel to the time. For like as Christ dyed and was buried, and rose again the third day; so by putting into the water is signified our death to sin, and the immersion betokeneth our burying and mortifying to the same. And our rising again out of the water declareth us to be risen unto new life, according to the doctrin of S. Paul, Rom. vi. And

The second solemne baptizing, that is to say, at Pentecost, was because that then is celebrate the feast of the H. Ghost; which is the worker of that spiritual regeneration which we have in baptism. And therfore the Church useth yet to hallow the font also at that time.

294 *The ceremonies of the resurrection in Easter Morning.*

Upon *Easter-day* in the morning the ceremonies of the resurrection be very laudable, to put us in remembrance of Christs resurrection, which is the cause of our justification. And that as Christ, being our Head, was the first among the dead, which rose, never to dy again, so al Christen men, being his members, do conceive therby a sure hope to rise from death of sin to godly conversation in this life; and finally at the day of judgment, when the body and flesh of al men, women, and children, shal, by the operation of God, be raised again, to rise with him in everlasting glory.

General and particular Processions.

General *processions*, and other particular processions, with the litanies and other prayers, be very laudable. Wherin we pray to Almighty God for the health, prosperous state, and victory of our Prince, for the wealth of his realm, and for the temperance and purenes of the air to mans health: and also for the encrease of green gras and other fruits growing upon the earth for the sustinence of men. In the which processions we use to follow the cros, and the image of our Savior: not only praying unto him for our necessities, whose image we do follow, but also professing our selves, as true Christen people, ready to bear our cross with Christ, willingly to suffer al troubles and afflictions layd upon us for the love and cause of our Saviour. Like as he suffered for us, and so as his servants, soldiers, and men of war, we follow his banner for the remembrance of him: declaring our promise and readines in al things to follow and serve him. Provided always, that in al processions the maner of praying appointed by the Kings injunctions be observed.

Benedictions of Bishops or Priests.

The accustomed *benedictions* of Bishops or Priests, of old time used in the Church, are very laudable. For, as Ministers and Pastors of the flock of Christ, for the holy people, wheras they have their administration, they pray to Almighty God, that it may pleas him to bless the people, that is to say, to give unto them his goodnes and grace in al their necessities both for the body and soul: making a cros, to signify in whose name they bless, and by whom they ask the same gift of God.

Holy Water and holy Bread.

Holy water and *holy bread* be two godly ceremonies, and to be continued in the Church. The one, to put us in remembrance of our baptism, and of the bloud of Christ
sprinkled for our redemption upon the cros. And the 295
other, to put us in remembrance, that al Christen men be one mystical body of Christ: as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf. And to put us in remembrance also of the receiving of the H. Sacrament and body of Christ in right charity. Which in the beginning of Christs Church, men did more ofter receive than they use now a dayes to do.

Number CX.

A Proclamation for an uniformity in religion; and about reading the Bible in English: with the King's own emendations of this draught of it.

Cleopatra, E. 5.

THE Kings most royal Majesty hath been informed, that great murmurs, malice, and malignity is risen and sprung among divers and sundry of his subjects by diversity of opinion: some of them minding craftily, by their preachings and teachings, to restore in this realm the old devotion to the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, the hypocrites religion, superstitions, pilgrimages, idolatry, and other evil and naughty ceremonies and dreams, justly and lawfully abolished and taken away by authority of Gods word: and to allure the people again to the same and some other, taking and gathering divers holy Scriptures to contrary senses and understanding, do so wrest and interpretate, and so untruly alledg the same, to subvert and overturn as wel the sacraments of holy Church, as the power and authority of princes and magistrates, and in effect generally al laws and common justice, and the good and laudable ordinances and ceremonies, necessary and convenient to be used and continued in this realm: which were ordained for the encrease and edifying of vertue and good Christen learning: some of them also using the Scripture permitted to them by the Kings goodnes in the English tongue, * *at such times and places, and after* * [much contrary to his Highnes expectation: for his Majesties intent and hope was, that they that would read the Scripture, would, with meeknes and wil to accomplish the effect of it, read it, and not to maintain erroneous opinions, and preach [them,] nor for to use the reading and preaching of it in undue time and places, and after] such fashions and sorts, as it is not convenient to be suffered. And thus each of them dispute so arrogantly against the other of their opinions, as wel in churches, alehouses, tavernes, and other places and congregations, that there is begun and sprung among themselves slander and rayling each at other, as wel by words as writing; one part of them calling the other *Papist*, and the other part calling the other *heretic:* wherby is like to follow * *sedition* * [dissension] and tumult, * *to their own destruction*, * [not only to their own confusions, that teach and use the same, but also to the disturbance, and liklihood to destruction of al the rest of the Kings true and welbeloved subjects,] if his Majesty, like a godly and Catholick Prince, of his excellent 296 goodnes, by his princely power and authority given him by God, should not politicly, in the beginning, provide for the same.

For remedy wherof his most royal Majesty, by his most excellent wisdome, knowing and considering his kingly office and charge touching the premisses, and daily painfully studying and devising, with a most noble and earnest heart, to reduce his people committed by God to his cure, to unity of opinion, and to encrease love and charity among themselves, and constantly to conserve them in the same, intendeth, God willing, by advice of his Prelates and Clergy, and other of his Council, to procede to a ful order and resolution to extinct al such diversities of opinions by * *terrible* * [good and just] laws to be made for the same, by authority of his Parlament. And yet nevertheles now in the beginning of his Parlament, of his most excellent and virtuous goodnes, mindeth by a proclamation set forth * *by* * [by his Highnes with] the advice of his Council *by authority of Parliament*, * [according to authority of Parlament already to his Highnes successors and Council granted] to extirpe and take away some occasions, * *and* * [as hereafter followeth,] which have moved and bred division among sundry of his subjects:

And therfore by authority of this his present Parlament, straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no person or persons shal from henceforth slanderously and maliciously name or cal any other *Papist* or *heretic*, unles the person or persons, so using themselves, can and do lawfully and justly prove the same to be true, upon pain of - - - - - - - - And over this, his Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no person, except such as be curates, or graduates in any of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridg, or such as be or shal be admitted to preach by the Kings licence, or by his Vicegerent, or by any Bishop of the realm, shal teach or preach the Bible, or New Testament, nor expound the mysteries therof to any other; nor that any person or persons shal openly read the Bible or New Testament in the English tongue in any churches or chappels, [or elsewhere] with any loud or high voice; [and especially] during the time of divine service, or of celebrating and saying of masses: but virtually and devoutly to hear their divine services and masses, and use that time in reading and praying with peace and stilnes, as good Christen men use to do [for his own erudition] upon the like pains, as is afore rehersed. **And also* *[notwithstanding] his Highnes is pleased and contented, that such as can [and wil] in the English tongue, shal and may quietly and reverently read the Bible and New Testament by themselves [secretly] at al times and places convenient for their own instruction and edification, to encrease therby godlines and vertuous learning: * *and if they shal happen to stond in* * [with this admonishment nevertheles, that if they shal hap to find] any doubt of any text or sentence in the reading therof, to beware and take heed of their own presumptuous and arrogant expositions of the letter: but to resort humbly to such as be learned in H. Scripture for their instruction in that behalf.

Finally, his Highnes signifieth to al and singular his loving and obedient subjects, that his Majesty was nor is compelled by Gods word, to set forth his Scripture in English to his lay subjects, but of his own liberality and goodnes was and is pleased, that his said loving subjects should have and read the same in convenient places and times, to the only intent to bring them from their old ignorance and blindnes, to virtuous living and godlines, to God's glory and honor; and not to make and take occasion of dissension or tumult by reason of the same. Wherfore his Majesty chargeth and commandeth al his said subjects to use the H. 297

Scripture in English, according to his godly purpose and gracious intent, as they would avoid his most high displesure and indignation, beside the pain above remembred.

Let it be noted, that the sentences and words of this proclamation in Italic within two stars, are scratched out by the King in this MS. and the sentences and words standing within two crotchets are inserted by the King's hand, sometimes as amendments of the words immediately preceding.

Number CXI.

The Elector of Saxony's letter to the King, upon his marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

Excellent and most renowned King, our Cousin, and dearly beloved Alliance, and a Lord worthy great reverence: Cleop. E. 5.

S. D. Our Counsellors, when they returned, shewed us, that the beginning of the mariage of your royal Majesty was joyful and prosperous, which we desire God to bless and fortunately to continue. We perceived also by our said Counsellors, that your Majesty had loving and familiar communication with them of many other matters, and of the common wealth: shewing your mind to be enclined and bent to make a league in honest causes, beside the cause of religion, with the famous Prince Landgrave Hassie, and with us [Elector of Saxony] as your Highnes made like league with the most noble Prince Duke Juliacens our alliance. And when we were so united, then your Majesty would, that afterwards we should intreat of religion, and a league should be made in the cause of religion. Of al the premisses how lovingly your Highnes hath opened and shewed your mind and wil towards us, and with how great gentlenes you received and entreated our Counsellors, both your letters do manifest a great part, and also they do plainly expres the whole. And though we also would desire to be confederated with your Majesty in honest causes, beside the cause of religion, as in time past there

hath been a special confederacy between Kings of England and Dukes of Saxony, as stories do testify; yet this league, which is made by us with other princes and states of Germany, against the ungodly religion and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, doth comprehend no other causes therto annexed. Therfore because your Gr. would rather joyn your self to our league in other honest causes, beside the
298 cause of religion, that is clean contrary to the meaning of our league, which containeth only the causes of religion, nother Landgravius Hassie nor we can, without the conjunction of other, make a covenant of causes not appertaining to religion.

Your royal Majesty doth wel remember, how diligently, before this time, you have treated with us by ambassadors, orators, and letters, to make a league in the cause of religion, and have advertised us to constancy in the defence enterprized of true religion. And this last year the orators of your regal Majesty entreated with us in the Council of Frankford of the same matter, that we should send our orators with commandments to make a league with the defence of true religion, against the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and not of other causes. And as at that time we did send some: but not only that thing was left unfinished, but also there followed a decree of the Parlament, which, as we hear, was made by the conspiracy and craftiness of certain Bishops, in whose mind hitherto the veneration or worshipping of Roman ungodlines is rooted. With the bitternes of that decree [of the Six Articles] both we and many others, which do think wel of your Graces Majesty, are astonied. For when your Highnes had clean extinct, and put forth the power and dominion of the Bishop of Rome out of the realm of England, we had good confidence that your Gr. would not have suffered the Bishops to have established errors brought into the Church by covetousnes and ambition of the Bishop of Rome. But yet we understand the sharpnes of that decree to be mollified by the wisdom and moderation of your Highnes, and the execution therof not put in ure: and that your H. hath protested before our Counsellors, that ye desire nothing so earnestly as the true doctrin may flourish or shine in churches. But it seemeth to your Gr. as it doth to some other learned men in England, that our men in some articles do pass their bands [bounds.] For the which cause your Gr. desired the confirmations of those articles taken out of true foundations, to be sent unto you, that yee might better weigh those articles, and deliberate of the whole matter with bishops and divines, which exceed others in learning and godlines. And ye sey, that the truth known, ye wil execute your office, and gladly prefer heavenly doctrin before mens traditions.

This remembrance of a will, worthy so wise and wel learned a King, hath provoked us again to great hope, that your H. (things better weighed) wil emend the abuses of the Church, and wil exhibit or propose to other kings an example of aiding or helping the Church. Therfore we have commanded certain of our divines, that they should gather sure confirmations, and not very long, of four articles, that is to wit, of the *Mass;* of the *use of the whole Sacrament;* of the *mariage of Priests;* and of *Vowes.* These we send to your H. and lovingly and earnestly desire you, that ye wil ponder and weigh diligently so great things; and the thing being reasoned with men of right judgment, godly, and loving the truth, may make the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, arbiter or judg of this deliberation; of whom the Heavenly said, *Hear him.* That the churches of England set in a true trade, the honor and glory of God may flourish, and may set forth a godly example to other kings to reform the Church. And it becometh your Majesty so much the more that to do, because ye have begun 299 amendment, in abolishing the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and taking away some idols, and commanding the people to be more purely and sincerely taught. Truly some felicity it is, and a way to more light, that you have expelled the Bishop of Rome, and his tyranny, seeing it is the kingdom of Antichrist, which is ruled by the Devil, enemy unto Christ, it is no mervail that he doth impugn the Gospel with an horrible boldnes and cruelty, and, as Daniel saith, *abjecteth the truth*, treading it under foot. The Bishop of Rome doth perceive, that, if the Gospel do flourish, his authority wil be darkned, his power made weak, his plesures troubled. Therfore he endeavoureth with al his powers to oppres the truth, appearing or budding forth.

Wherfore altho he doth hinder other kingdomes from better counsil, yet after that he is driven out of England, the Churches there may be better holpen and provided for. And tho it be said, that there be left there many bishops and divines which carry about in their hearts a desire of the Bishop of Rome, yet your H. may other heal them, or else restrain them.

We offer also unto your gracious Majesty our labor and diligence, [and] if you wil, learned men to common together of these matters, and shal think [convenient that] both English divines and our divines to be sent on both parties in Geldria, Hamburgh, or Bremen: or, if your Gr. had lever, any other meeter place, we gladly wil send chosen or picked men of great learning and godlines. And if after that, your Gr. wil common also face to face with some of ours, we wil send good men and wel learned; and wil gladly help with al diligence your Gr.'s good counsils. For we greatly desire a true and a godly consent to be made between the Churches of England and Germany. That thing should greatly ornate the glory of God, and allure other nations. Therfore we promise our labor in this busines, with al study to your H. both for the glory of God, and our friendship.

For seeing now we be more conjoyned with a new knot of affinity, we greatly desire our conjunction somewhat to profit the Church of Christ, and the common wealth. To the which end the friendship of Princes ought chiefly to be applied. And for that cause we do the more rejoyce at the affinity of your Grace; and we desire that God may give to the mariage of your Graces Majesty, and of the most noble Queen our alliance, continual felicity. We desire that your Graces Majesty wil take in good worth these our letters written with most gentlenes, and with a certain singular love to your Gr. and to accept them with as good mind as they were written.

We also thank your Gr. that so lovingly hath declared your good wil towards us, and beneficial mind, both by letters and commandments given to our Counsellors; and that so honorably entreated our Counsellors, and at their departing gave them such rewards. We also understode that the letters of allowing the instruments concerning doweres sent thither, to have taken a little wet, for the which cause, if you wil [have] another like example to be written, and signed with a greater seal to be sent thither, gladly we wil 300 in that behalf gratify your Majesty.

And further, we thought it expedient to enform your Majesty of this, that we, beside those things wherof our cousin and brother Landgrave instructed you, have perceived again, that the Bishop of Rome, and certain of his adherents, yet hitherto doth go about divers things against your Graces Majesty. Wherfore you may not depart from the watch-place, but must take heed to their counsils, and devise in what things the Germans may be profitable unto you.

These things have we written for the great love we bear towards your H. as to our most intyrely beloved lord, cousin, and alliance, and that in this thing you wil accept and take in worth our carefulnes and study. And we pray God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to keep long in good health your royal Majesty, and the most noble Queen, our dearly beloved alliance: unto whom we desire salutations be spoken in our behalf. To conclude, we commit unto your royal Majesty al our duties, with singular observance and love.

We wil not keep secret from your Majesty, that we have assembled here a few dayes together with the noble Prince Landgrave Hassie, and with orators and legates of other princes and states of the empire, conjoyned with us in the cause of religion, and have deliberated to amend Christian

concord in the cause of faith. Wherof Cesars Majesty doth put us in hope or comfort. Of the which, if it fortune, as it is wont, with unjust rumours to be brought unto your Gr. we wil desire you to give no faith unto them: but to be persuaded, that we wil be both desirous of sincere concord and public quietnes; and also do covet nothing more, than that a godly reformation be enterprized of the Church by the word of God: which doth seem to be very necessary. And that we verily wil not refuse truth and Catholic doctrin of the Church, which we confes to be agreeable to H. Scripture. For this God wil keep and defend, we doubt not, for the consolation and health of godly minds, against the Bishop of Romes wil, and also the gates of hel.

Number CXII.

Quidam Doctrinæ Christianæ Articuli, pro Ecclesia Anglicana. With some notes of the King in the margin.

I. *De Ecclesia.*

Cleop. E. 5.

ECCLESIA præter alias acceptiones in scripturis duas habet præcipuas. Unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione sanctorum, et vere fidelium, qui Christo capiti vere credunt, et sanctificantur Spiritu ejus. Hæc autem una est, et vere [a] *sanctum corpus* Christi, sed soli Deo *cognitum*, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium hominum, qui baptizati sunt in Christo, et non palam abnegarunt Christum, nec sunt [b] excommunicati [c].

301 Quæ Ecclesiæ acceptio congruit ejus statui in hac vita dumtaxat; ubi habet malos bonis simul admixtos; [d] *et debet esse cognita per verbum et legitimum usum sacramentorum*, ut possit audiri. Sicut docet Christus, *Qui Ecclesiam non audierit.*

[a] Sponsa Christi cognita.

[b] Juste.

[c] Aut obstinati.

[d] Et cognitio hujus Ecclesiæ pervenit per usum verbi, et Sacramentorum acceptione, perfecta unitate, ac unanimi consensu, acceptata.

Porro, ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ requiritur, ut sit consensus in recta doctrina fidei, et administratione sacramentorum.

Traditiones vero et ritus atque cæremoniæ, quæ vel ad decorem, vel ordinem, vel disciplinam Ecclesiæ, ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est, ut eadem sint ubique aut prorsus similes. Hæ enim et variæ fuere, et variari possunt, pro regionum atque morum diversitate ac commodo. [e] *Sic tamen ut sint consentientes verbo Dei.*

[e] Modo rectoribus placeant: quibus semper obtemperandum est. Sic tamen ut eorum jussio atque lex verbo Dei non adversetur. Ista est Ecclesia nostra catholica et apostolica, cum qua nec Pontifex Romanus, nec quivis aliquis [alius] Prelatus aut Pontifex habet quicquam agere, præterquam in suas diœceses.

Et quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem, mali sunt bonis admixti, atque etiam ministeriis verbi et sacramentorum nonnunquam præsint, tamen cum ministrent non suo, sed Christi nomine, mandato, et aucthoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo, quam recipiendis sacramentis. Juxta illud, *Qui vos audit, me audit.* Nec per eorum maliciam imminuitur effectus, aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus. Sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem, et ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

[*Annotationes in margine sunt D. Regis Henrici VIII. manu propria scriptæ.*]

II. *De Justificatione.*

Item, De *justificatione* docemus, quod ea proprie significat remissionem peccatorum, et acceptionem seu reconciliationem nostram in gratiam et favorem Dei: hoc est, veram renovationem in Christo: et quod peccatores licet non assequantur hanc justificationem absque pœnitentia, et bono ac propenso motu cordis, quem Spiritus efficit, erga Deum et proximum, non tamen propter dignitatem aut meritum pœnitentiæ, aut ullorum operum seu meritorum suorum justificantur, sed gratis propter Christum per fidem; cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata sua propter Christum remitti, qui sua morte pro peccatis nostris satisfecit.

Hanc *fidem* imputat Deus pro justitia coram ipso, Rom. 3. et 4. Fidem vero intelligimus non inanem et otiosam, sed eam quæ per dilectionem operatur. Est enim vera et Christiana fides, de qua hic loquimur, non sola notitia articulorum fidei, et credulitas doctrinæ Christianæ, dumtaxat historica, sed una cum illa notitia, et credulitate, firma fiducia

misericordiæ Dei promissæ propter Christum, qua videlicet certo persuademus ac statuimus eum etiam nobis misericordem et propitium. Et hæc fides vere justificat, vere est salutifera, non ficta, mortua, et hypocrytica; sed necessario habet
302 spem et charitatem sibi individuè conjunctas; ac etiam studium bene vivendi; et bene operatur pro loco et occasione.

Nam *bona opera* ad salutem sunt necessaria: non quod de impio justum faciens, nec quod sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa justificationis; sed quia necessum est, ut qui jam fide justificatus est, et reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat, juxta illud, *Non omnis qui dicit mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabit regnum cœlorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in cœlis est.* Qui vero hæc opera facere non studet, sed secundum carnem vivit, neque veram fidem habet, neque justus est, neque vitam æternam (nisi ex animo resipiscat et vere pœniteat) adsequetur.

III. *De Eucharistia.*

De *Eucharistia* constanter credimus, et docemus, quod in Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, verè et substantialiter, et realiter adsunt corpus et sanguis Christi, sub speciebus panis et vini; et sub eisdem speciebus verè et realiter exhibentur, et distribuuntur illis, qui Sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis.

IV. *De Baptismo.*

De *Baptismo* dicimus, quod Baptismus a Christo sit institutus, et sit necessarius ad salutem; et quod per baptismum offerantur remissio peccatorum, et gratia Christi, infantibus et adultis. Et quod non debeat iterari baptismus. Et quod infantes debeant baptizari: et quod infantes per baptismum consequuntur remissionem peccatorum, et gratiam; et sunt filii Dei. Quia promissio gratiæ et vitæ æternæ pertinet non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes. Et hæc promissio per ministerium in Ecclesia, infantibus et adultis administrari debet.

Quia vero infantes nascuntur cum peccato *originis*, habent opus remissione illius peccati. Et illud ita remittitur, ut reatus tollatur, licet corruptio naturæ, seu concupiscentia, maneat in hac vita: et sic incipit sanari, quia Spiritus

Sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax, et eos mundat suo quodam modo.

Probamus igitur sententiam Ecclesiæ: quæ damnat Pelagianos, qui negabant infantibus esse peccatum originis. Damnamus et Anabaptistas, qui negant infantes baptizandos esse.

De *adultis* vero docemus, quod ita consequuntur, per baptismum, remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, si baptizandi attulerint pœnitentiam veram, confessionem articulorum fidei, et credant verè ipsis ibi donari remissionem peccatorum, et justificationem propter Christum. Sicut Petrus ait in Actis, *Pœnitentiam agite; et baptizetur unusquisque vestrûm in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Sp. Sancti.*

V. *De Pœnitentia.* 303

De *pœnitentia* docemus, quod lapsis post baptismum necessaria sit pœnitentia: et quod lapsi, qui in hac vita non agunt veram pœnitentiam certò damnentur. Contra autem, quod lapsi, quandocunque verè convertuntur, et agunt vere pœnitentiam, certo consequantur remissionem peccatorum.

Ut autem, quæ sit vera pœnitentia melius cognoscatur, docemus eam esse serium animi dolorem pro peccato, et odium peccati, una cum firma fiducia divinæ misericordiæ, et remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, ac certo proposito vitam in melius commutandi, et deinceps non peccandi.

Habet enim vera pœnitentia, per legem, agnitionem peccati, contritionem, et veros terrores conscientiæ; dum peccator sentit Deum irasci peccato, et æterna damnatione se dignum judicat; nec posse ullis, vel virtutibus, vel operibus suis, gratiam et remissionem peccatorum promereri.

Porro autem, ut peccator hiis conscientiæ terroribus perculsus, consolationem et remissionem peccatorum consequatur, necessum est, ut se totum ad Deum convertat, et certa fiducia remissionem peccatorum a Deo postulet; credatque quod Deus sibi velit esse propitius, et peccata condonare propter Christum.

Et quamvis solus Christus sit hostia, satisfactio, et unica propitiatio pro peccatis, tamen scire oportet, quod Deus a pœnitentibus necessario requirat fructus dignos pœnitentiæ, hoc est, vitæ novitatem, et carnis mortificationem, et perpetuum studium bene operandi. Juxta illud Rom. 6. *Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiæ et iniquitati, ad iniquitatem; ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiæ in sanctificationem.* Item Ephes. 4. *Renovamini spiritu mentis vestræ*, &c.

De *confessione* vero, et *absolutione* privata, docemus, quod retinendæ sunt in Ecclesia propter absolutionem, et multa alia commoda. Quanquam in confessione non sit necessaria omnium delictorum enumeratio. Est enim impossibilis, juxta Psal. *Delicta quis intelligit?*

Aliter et prolixius. *De Pœnitentia.*

Clementissimus ac summè misericors Deus, cujus apud Prophetam vox est, *Nolo mortem impii, sed ut impius convertatur a via sua, et vivat*, ut misericordiam suam peccatoribus impertiret, saluberrime instituit pœnitentiam. Quæ cum sit velut aditus quidam et janua ad thronum gratiæ Dei per Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum, tantam ejus tum utilitatem tum necessitatem esse dicimus, ut omnes qui in mortalia crimina prolapsi sunt, nisi pœnitentiam egerint, æternum supplicium luituri sint. Contra vero, qui hoc salutari pœnitentiæ pharmaco uti voluerint, gratiam et remissionem peccatorum indubiè consequentur.

Quum autem peccare a nobis est, resurgere vero a peccatis munus est divinum, valde expedit ut sciamus Sanctum 304 Spiritum hujus, de qua loquimur, pœnitentiæ authorem esse, et perfectorem; eamque in peccatore, qui Spiritus motibus obsequitur, hoc modo efficere et operari.

Primum, Peccator per Spiritum Sanctum, et verbum, peccata sua agnoscit, et veros conscientiæ terrores habet, dum iram Dei contra peccata timet. Adhæc, dolet ac ingemiscit propter offensum Deum, et illi peccata sua supplex confitetur, tanto prioris vitæ odio, ut secum firmiter statuat, ad eam postea nunquam reverti. Ad hunc modum peccator contritus et territus peccatorum suorum consideratione, ejusdem Spiritus beneficio erigitur, et certo credit, quod Deus sibi velit esse propitius, et peccata condonare, non merito et dignitate pœnitentiæ, aut suorum operum, sed ex gratuita misericordia, propter Christum, qui solus est hostia, satisfactio, et unica propitiatio pro peccatis nostris.

Hæc fiducia misericordiæ Dei propter Christum peccatoris conscientiam pavore liberat, terrores expellit, et animum totum huc inflectit, ut jam nihil magis cupiat, quam juxta Dei voluntatem vivere, et postea nunquam peccare. Nam vitæ novitatem, sive fructus dignos pœnitentiæ ad totius pœnitentiæ perfectionem necessario requirit Deus.

Atque hujus quidem pœnitentiæ initium, progressum et finem scriptura nobis aperte commonstrat. Ps. 37. *Non est pax ossibus meis a facie peccatorum meorum.* 1 Jo. 2. *Filioli, hæc scribo vobis, nec peccetis: quod siquis peccaverit, advocatum habemus apud Deum, Jesum Christum justum. Et ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris.* Et ad Rom. 6. *Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiæ et iniquitati, ad iniquitatem; ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiæ, in sanctificationem.*

Porro quoniam Christiani populi pars maxima carnalis est, nec quæ sit vera pœnitentia novit, nec quomodo sit agenda intelligit, nec unde sit speranda peccatorum remissio cognoscit: ut in hiis omnibus melius instituatur et doceatur, valde utilem ac summè necessariam esse dicimus *confessionem*, quæ *auricularis* dicitur, et privatim fit ministris Ecclesiæ.

Quæ sane *confessio* modis omnibus in Ecclesia retinenda est, et magnifacienda, cum propter hominum imperitorum institutionem in verbo Dei, et alia commoda non parva, de quibus mox dicemus, tum præcipue propter *absolutionis* beneficium, hoc est, remissionem peccatorum, quæ in hac confessione confitentibus offertur et exhibetur per absolutionem, et potestatem clavium; juxta illud Christi, Johan. 20. *Quorum remiseritis peccata*, &c. Cui absolutioni certo oportet credere. Est enim vox Evangelii, qua minister per verbum, non suo sed Christi nomine et authoritate remissionem peccatorum confitenti annuntiat et offert. Cui voci Evangelii per ministrum sonanti dum confitens recta fide credit et assentitur, illico conscientia ejus fit certa de remissione peccatorum, et jam certo secum statuit, Deum sibi propitium ac misericordem esse.

Quæ una profecto res Christianos omnes magnopere debeat permovere, ut *confessionem*, in qua per absolutionem gratiæ et remissionis peccatorum certitudo concipitur et confirmatur, modis omnibus et ament et amplectantur.

Et in hac privata absolutione sacerdos potestatem habet absolvendi confitentem ab omnibus peccatis etiam illis, quæ
305 solita sunt vocari *casus reservati.* Ita tamen, ut ille privatim absolutus nihilominus pro manifestis criminibus, si in jus vocetur, publicis judiciis subjaceat.

Accedunt huc et alia confessionis arcanæ commoda: quorum unum est, quod indocti ac imperiti homines nusquam rectius aut melius quam in confessione de doctrina Christiana institui possint. Nam cum animos attentos ac dociles in confessione afferunt, diligenter ad ea, quæ a sacerdote dicuntur, animum advertunt.

Quocirca et fides eorum explorari potest, et quid peccatum sit, et quæ sunt peccatorum inter se discrimina et varietates, doceri poterunt. Multi enim, propterea quod hoc ignorent, in conscientiis sæpe graviter anguntur, illic trepidantes timore, ubi timor non est: *Qui* (ut Servator ait) *culicem excolantes, camelum deglutiunt*, in minimis levissimisque peccatis valde anxii, de maximis et gravissimis non perinde dolent.

Sunt porro qui peccatis adeo irretiuntur, ut semet nesciant explicare; quos doctis piisque consiliis sacerdos facile liberat, et exolvit. Ad hæc, pusillanimes de venia peccatorum desperantes, solatur et erigit: hypocritas, qui peccata sua non sentiunt, verbo Dei instruit et severiter reprehendit, conscientias trepidantes confirmat, anxias tranquillat; breviter, rationes et remedia commonstrat, quibus Satanæ tentationes vincere, et peccata fugere poterint.

Jam vero philautiæ morbum, quo multi in propriis vitiis cecutiunt, et sibi ipsis nimium indulgent, peccata sua leviora esse putantes, quam reipsa sunt, hæc confessio peccatorum magnopere corrigit et emendat. Quandoquidem in confessione enormitatem et gravitatem peccatorum multo verius et altius aspicimus ac contemplamur, quam si tacita duntaxat cogitatione nobiscum in animo ea revolveremus.

Accedit huc, quod nusquam melius aut efficacius, quam in confessione peccatorum, humanæ mentis superbia frangitur, et animi humilitas acquiritur, ac retinetur; dum homo homini propter Deum se submittit, et pectoris sui arcana aperit.

Adhæc, pudor retegendi peccata multos mortales, ne in eadem relabantur, valde retrahit atque cohibet.

Porro, quisquis simpliciter, et tanquam coram Deo, peccata sua sacerdoti aperit, declarat se Dei timorem habere, eumque timorem, hac animi submissione, magis etiam conservat et auget.

Jam ipsa confessionis meditatio plurimum utilitatis adfert: utpote quæ facit, ut homo seipsum noscat, dum magnitudinem, copiam et turpitudinem suorum criminum scrutatur et considerat. Unde nascitur et detestatio ac odium peccatorum, et propositum abstinendi ab eisdem.

Quod vero ad enumerationem peccatorum spectat, censemus scrupulosam, et anxiam non esse requirendam, ne laqueum injiciat hominum conscientiis et nimium timorem, qui vel dubios reddat, vel fiduciam remissionis auferat. Et quemadmodum non probamus illam scrupulosam et anxiam, ita censemus segnem et supinam negligentiam in re tam salutari magnopere periculosam esse et fugiendam.

Quod siqui sunt, qui hanc confessionem vel damnant vel rejiciunt, hi profecto se in verbo Dei institutionem, et absolutionis beneficium, quod in confessione datur, et alia quæ ante diximus commoda, negligere et contemnere ostendunt: nec animadvertunt se in orbem Christianum maximam peccandi licentiam invehere, et magnam hominibus in omne scelus ruendi occasionem præbere.

VI. *De Sacramentorum usu.* 306

Docemus quod sacramenta, quæ per verbum Dei instituta sunt, non tantum sint notæ professionis inter Christianos, sed magis certa quædam testimonia, et efficacia signa gratiæ et bonæ voluntatis Dei erga nos. Per quæ Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis, et suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundit, siquidem ea rite susceperimus. Quodque per ea excitatur et confirmatur fides in hiis, qui eis utuntur.

Porro docemus, quod ita utendum sit sacramentis, ut in adultis præter veram contritionem, necessario etiam debeat accedere fides, quæ credat presentibus promissionibus, quæ per sacramenta ostenduntur, exhibentur et præstantur. Neque enim in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, sacramenta conferre gratiam ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis. Nam in ratione utentibus necessarium est, ut fides etiam utentis accedat, per quam credat illis promissionibus, et accipiat res promissas, quæ per sacramenta conferuntur.

De infantibus vero, cum temerarium sit eos a misericordia Dei excludere; præsertim cum Christus in Evangelio dicat, *Sinite parvulos ad me venire: talium est enim regnum cœlorum:* et alibi, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum cœlorum:* cumque perpetua Ecclesiæ catholicæ consuetudine, jam inde ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus receptum sit, infantes debere baptizari in remissionem peccatorum: dicimus quod Sp. Sanctus efficax sit in illis, et eos in baptismo mundet, quemadmodum supra in articulo de Baptismo dictum est.

Number CXIII.

The King's commission to the Convocation; to examine the validity of his marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

MSS. D. G. H. Eq. Aur.

Henricus Octavus Dei gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dns. Hiberniæ, ac in terris immediatè sub Christo supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Archiepis. Cant. et Eboracen. ac cæteris regni nostri Angliæ Epis. Decanis, Archidiaconis, et universo Clero, salutem:

EGERUNT apud nos regni nostri proceres et populus, ut, cum nuper quædam emerserunt, quæ, ut illi putant, ad nos regnique nostri successionem pertineant, inter quæ præcipua est causa et conditio matrimonii, quod cum illustri et nobili fœmina Dna. Anna Clevensi, propter externam quidem conjugii speciem perplexum, alioqui etiam multis ac variis modis ambiguum vident: nos ad hujusmodi matri- 307 monii disquisitionem ita procedere dignaremur, ut opinionem vestram, qui in Ecclesia nostra Anglicana scientiam verbi Dei et doctrinam profitemini, exquiramus, vobisque discutiendi auctoritatem ita demandemus, ut si animis vestris fuerit persuasum, matrimonium cum præfata Dna. minime consistere aut cohærere debere, nos ad matrimonium contrahendum cum alia liberos esse, vestro primum ac reliquæ deinde Ecclesiæ suffragio, pronuncietur et confirmetur.

Nos autem qui vestrum, in reliquis Ecclesiæ hujus Anglicanæ negotiis gravioribus, quæ ecclesiasticam œconomiam et religionem spectent, judicium amplecti solemus, ad veritatis explicandæ testimonium omnino necessarium rati sumus, causæ hujusmodi matrimonialis seriem et circumstantias vobis exponi et communicari curare: ut quod vos per Dei leges licere decreveritis, id demum totius Ecclesiæ nostræ aucthoritate innixi, licite facere et exequi publicè audeamus. Vos itaque convocari et synodum universalem nostra aucthoritate convenire volentes, vobis, conjunctim et divisim, committimus atque mandamus, ut inspecta hujus negotii veritate ac solum Deum præ oculos habentes, quod verum, quod justum, quod honestum, quod sanctum est, id nobis de communi consilio, scripto autentico, renuncietis; et communi consensu licere definiatis. Nempe hoc unum a vobis nostro more postulamus, ut tanquam fida et proba Ecclesiæ membra causa huic ecclesiasticæ, quæ maxima est, in justitia et veritate adesse velitis, et eam maturissimè, juxta commissionem vobis in hac parte factam, absolvere et expedire. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium, sexto die Julii anno regni nostri trecesimo secundo. Anno 1540.

Number CXIV.

The Depositions of divers of the noblemen, and others, before the Convocation; concerning the King's marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

I. *The Depositions of the right honorable Thomas Awdely, Lord Chancellor, Thomas Archbusshop of Canterbury, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Charles Duke of Suffolk, William Earl of Southampton, and Cuthbert Bishop of Durham, al joyntly togethers, are these:*

MSS. Cottonian.

AFTER the Quene was brought to Grenewich, at her first arryval, the Kings Grace, willing to be adcertayned whether such promises as were made for the clearing of the spousalls or mariage betwixt her and the Duke of Loraigne, his eldest son, were performed, deferred the despousing of the Quene two dayes: and the said evenyng entred communication by his counsaill with theym that were her conduc-
308 ters, to know what they had brought in that mattier, which were the chieff about her. Who answered, that they had brought nothing at al in writing, albeit at Wyndesore the contrary was promysed, that the said spousalls should be clerely put out of doubt: and therupon instructions were sent to Doctor Wotton, then resident in Cleves, to sollicite the clearing therof; as he brought forth before the said ambassadors avouched that he had don. But that notwithstanding nothing they had brought, nor could shew, but only by words made a light mattier of it, saying, It was don in their minority, and had never after taken any effect. Wherewith the Kings Majesty being mervaillouslie discontent, was in mynd to have stayed, and not to have proceded further to the solemnization of his mariage, onles great sute had ben made unto hym by these to whom the traduction of the Quene was committed by the Duke her brother; who promised of new within a bref time after their arryval into their country, to send such a discharge of that mattier as shuld put al out of doubt. Which promises not only they have not fulfilled, but also sent such a writing for a discharge not being autentique, that putteth it in moch

more doubt, cowching the words of that sort, that thespousals by theym spoken of to have ben made long agoo, may be taken for espousals not only *de futuro*, but also *de præsenti;* which intriketh the mattier moch more, and doth not clere it, as it was promysed; as by the instrument therby it wil appere to al that read it. So that neyther the condition by theym promysed, to take that doubt away, is fulfilled, nor yet, as it may appere, can be fulfilled. For if better mattier could have ben shewed, better they wold have sent, after so great stayes made, and so grete promyses therof eftsones renewed. So it appereth plainly the Kings mariage not to be clered, as was promysed, but to remayne more intriked. And the condition of the clering therof, put alweys therunto by the Kings Majesty, not to be fulfilled in any wise by them that so promised.

Thomas Awdely, Chancellor. Charles Suffolk.
T. Cantuarien. W. Southampton.
T. Norfolk. Cuthbert Duresme.

II. *The Deposition of the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Great Master.*

The said Lord saith, How in the begynnyng of the treatie of the mariage betwene the Kings Majesty and the Lady Anne of Cleves, he noted specially that the Kings Majesty constantly affirmed, how his Highnes wold do nothing therin, onely [onless] the pre-contract betwene the said Lady and the Marques of Loraine were first clered. Wherupon the Commissioners of the Duke of Saxe and Cleves toke upon theym, and promised at the repayr of the said Lady into England, to bring the ful and evydent clering therof; which they did not. And therfor the Kings Majesty shewed himself not contented to be so handeled; and was as earnest to have the mattier clered as bifore. And for that cause the solemnization was differed from Soneday to Tuesday, to compas the end. Wherin the Earl of Essex travailled with the Kings Highnes apart. 309
And so that mattier passed over. The said Duke saith also, how, for that he saw, noted, and considered in the Kings

Highnes countenance, fashion, and behaviour, he thinketh his Grace liked not the Quenes person, ne had affection: but his Highnes, as the said Duke than thought, wold have been glad, if the solemnization might than to the world have ben disappointed, without note of breach of his Highnes behalf.

Charles Suffolk.

III. *The Deposition of therle of Southampton, Lord Privy Seal.*

The said Erle saith, How at such tyme as the Kings Majesty appointed hym, being than Admyral, to receve the Quene at Calise, and conduct her over the seas, he, upon the first sight of her, considering it was than no tyme to dyspraise her there, whom so many had by reportes and paintings so moch extolled, did, by his lettres moch prayse her, and set her forth, wherewith the Kings Majesty, upon sight of her person, was not contented. As Sir Anthony Browne declared to the said Erle at his repair to the Court, and as the said Erle might perceave by the Kings Highnes countenance. Wherof the said Erle was very sory; and specially to se the Kings Majesty so to mislike the personage of the Quene. At which tyme therle of Essex calling the said Erle of Southampton to hym, layd sore to his charge, that he had so moch praysed the Quene by his letters from Calise, declaring therby his malicious purpose, how he entended to take occasion to do displeasure to the said Erle, and to turn al the Kings miscontentment upon the shulders of the said Erle of Southampton. Unto whom the said Erle of Southampton answered, that he thought his prayse to good purpose, if he could have done any good by it, the mattier being so far passed. And with such and other like words passed over the communication with the said Erle of Essex: and in his own hart was very sory to se the Kings Highnes so coldly to procede to thexecution of the solemnization of the mariage according to the treaty passed. For wheras the mariage should have been upon the Soneday, it was deferred until Tuesday following: and

much fault found for clearing of the precontract and want of a commission. Thending of which controversies therle of Essex, repairing secretly unto the King, did procure. But what he said to the King, the said Erle of Southampton cannot tel. The said Erle of Southampton saith also, how eight days after the solemnization, therle of Essex told him, how the Quene was than a maid for the Kings Highnes, and that the Kings Highnes had no affection to her, and misliked her body and the disposition therof. The said Erle saith also, how, a little before Easter last past, the Kings Highnes brake his mind frankly to the said Erle, declaring how his Grace had not yet known carnally the Quene, with such other mattier and circumstance not to be openyd; as induceth the said Erles conscience to think, that the Kings Highnes hath not carnally known the Quene, ne cannot, for the disposition of her body, be provoked therunto: as by such mattier as the Kings 310
Highnes than and sins did open unto him, doth appere to be true.

W. Southampton.

IV. *The Deposition of my Lord Admiral* [*L. Russel.*]

My Lord Admyral saith, That whan the King cam to Rochester to se the Quene, he saw the King, at the first view of the Quene, mervaillously astoned and abashed. And the next day returning from Rochester, his Grace called the said Lord Admyral unto him, saying, How like you this woman? Do you think her so fair and of such beauty as report hath ben made unto me of her? I pray you tel me trouth. Wherunto the said L. Admyral answered, That he toke her not for faire, but to be of a brown complexion. And the Kings Highnes said, Alas! whom shuld men trust? I promise you, saith he, I se no such thing in her as hath been shewed me of her, and am ashamed, that men have so praysed her as they have don, and I like her not. Which words the Kings Highnes hath sundry times shewed unto him. At which time the said L. Admyral saw the Kings Majesty sore troubeled in his countenance. Al which mattier the said L. Admyral told Sir Anthony Browne, who declared to the said L. Admyral, how the Kings Highnes had shewed the like unto hym. And further the said L. Admyral saith, that the Kings Highnes hath sundry times lamented unto him his estate in this pretensed mariage; and he saith how before the mariage, and sins, observing and noting the Kings Highnes countenance, with other things not to be disclosed, he hath perceyved by his fashion and maner, that he hath ben nothing content with this mariage, but alweys troubled and unquiet therin.

By me J. Russel.

V. *The Deposition of the Lord Cobham.*

It chaunced the younger Palant, at his being here, to commun with my L. Cobham. To whom after discurse of sundry mattiers betwene them, the said Palant sayd, that he was sory to se the Kings Majesty, being so vertuous a Prince, enter this matrimony: at Westminster, the sixth day of July, the xxxii. year of the Kings Majestyes most noble reigne.

George Cobham.

VI. *The Deposition of Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse.*

The said Sir Anthony saith, How at the arryval of the Quene at Rochester, the Kings Highnes appointed to go thither to se her upon newyeres day, and ordered the said Anthony to wayt upon hym: and at his comyng thither,
311 to go before unto her with this message, how he had brought her a newyers gift, if it liked her to se it. And when the said Sir Anthony entred the chambre where she was, and having conceived in his mind, what was by pictures and advertisements signified of her beauty and qualities, at the general view of the ladies he thought he saw no such thing there, and yet were thother of better favour than the Quene. But whan he was directed unto herself, and advisedly loked upon her, he saith, he was never more dismayed in al his life, lamenting in his hart, which altered

his outward countenance, to se the Lady so far and unlike that was reported, and of such sort as he thought the Kings Highnes shuld not content hymself with her. Nevertheles at his retorne to the Kings Majesty with her answer, the said Sir Anthony said nothing, ne durst not. Than whan the Kings Highnes entred to embrace her, and kiss her, the said Sir Anthony saith, he saw and noted in the Kings Highnes countenance such a discontentment and misliking of her person, as he was very sory of it. For the said Sir Anthony saith, he moch marked that the Kings Highnes taried not to speak with her twenty words, but called for her counsail, and with his counsail and theym devysed communication al that night, the Kings Highnes without shewing any cherful or mery countenance disclosed not his hart. But wheras the Kings Majesty had brought with him a partlet furred with sables and richly garnyshed, sable skins garnyshed to wear about her neck, with a muffley furred, to geve the Quene, and a capp, the Kings Highnes passed over thexecution of his intent that night, and in the morning sent them by the said Sir Anthony Browne with as cold and single a message as might be.

The said Sir Anthony saith also, how the Kings Majesty retourning in his barge from thens to Grenewich, said to the said Sir Anthony, by his Highnes commandment than sitting by him, these words very sadly and pensively: I see nothing in this woman as men report of her; and I mervail that wise men wold make such report as they have don. With which words the said Sir Anthony was abashed, fearing lest any thing shuld be objected to my Lord of Southampton his brother, for that he had written to her prayse.

The said Sir Anthony saith also, how the lady his wife departed, who was appointed to wayte upon her, told him before the mariage, how she saw in the Quene such fashion, and maner of bringing up so gross, and far discrepant from the Kings Highnes appetite, that in her judgment the Kings Highnes should never hartily love her.

The said Sir Anthony saith also, how the evening before the mariage solemnized, he saw the Kings Highnes nothing pleasantly disposed, but heard hym say, that he had a great yoke to enter into. And the morning the Kings Highnes prepared himself so slakely to go to the chappel to make solemnization, as in his countenance, fashion, and behaviour he declared evidently, that he went to do that act, as hym thought, wherunto his Grace was not moved, ne directed by his entyre and harty consent; according wherunto he heard the Kings Highnes speak words in marching forwards to the Erle of Essex: which words nevertheles he did not so parfitely hear as he can report the same: but they seemed to this sense, that the Kings Highnes said, *he must nedes.*

312 Finally, the said Sir Anthony saith, that by sundry the Kings Highnes behaviours before and after the mariage, he judgeth in his conscience that the King did never in his hart favour the lady to mary her, if outward respects had not enforced him to that act.

VII. *The Deposition of Sir Thomas Hennege, Knt.*

The said Sir Thomas saith, How even sen the Kings Highnes saw the Quene, his Grace never liked her, as the said Sir Thomas judgeth. For he heard him say, before the mariage and syns, how that his Highnes had ben yvel served of theym that his Grace had put in trust. Insomoch as so often as his Grace went to bed to her he ever grudged, and said plainly he mistrusted her to be no mayd, by reason of the loseness of her brests, and other tokens. And furthermore, that he could have none appetite with her to do as a man shuld do with his wife, for such displeasaunt ayres as he felt with her. And the said Sir Thomas hath so oftentimes heard his Majesty say thus from time to time, that he judgeth in his conscience the Quene, for any part of the Kings body, to be yet as good a mayd as ever she was. And therupon he durst take his death.

Thomas Hennege.

VIII. *The Deposition of Mr. Anthony Denny, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.*

The said Anthony Denny saith, That wheras hymself, at the first arryval of the Quene, and long after, toke evermore occasion to prayse her to the Kings Highnes, his Majesty wold never approve those prayses, but said ever, she was no such as she was praysed for. And after that, upon contynual praysings, the Kings Highnes said to the said Anthony Denny, how he wold utter playnly to hym, as to a servant whom he used secretly about hym, how indede his Highnes could not induce hymself to have affection to the Quene, for that she was not as she was reported, but had her brests so slake, and other parts of body in such sort, that his Highnes somewhat suspected her virginity, and concluded that her body was of such indisposition to his, that he could never in her company be provoked and stered to know her carnally. At which tyme the said Anthony, for answer to the Kings Highnes saying, lamented the state of princes to be, in mattiers of mariage, far of worse sort than the condition of poor men. For princes take as is brought theym by others, and poor men be commonly at their own choyce and liberty. The said Anthony remembreth not precisely the tyme of this communication, but he thinketh it was before Lent. Syns which time the Kings Highnes at sundry seasons hath had communications to like effect. By which communications the said Anthony thinketh the Quene to remain undefiled of the Kings Highnes body, and for any act of his Highnes, to be stil a mayd.

By me Antony Deny.

IX. *The Deposition of Thomas Wriothesley, one of the Kings Principal Secretaries.* 313

The said Sir Thomas saith, That eyther the sixth or seventh day of June last passed, but whether of theym he parfitely remembreth not, whan the L. Crumwel, than Lord Privy Seal, came home to his house nere the late Augustine Friers in London from the Court; it chaunced the said Sir Thomas to go into his gallery, where he found hym alone leanyng in his window. Of whom the said L. Crumwel demaunded, Have we any newys? None, Sir, quoth the said Sir Thomas, but that I wold be glad to go to my house hereby, to devyse how to make it fit for me, onless you shal commaund me to do any other busynes. Nay, quoth he, I have no busines now: but one thyng resteth in my hedd, which troubleth me, and I thought to tel it you. The King, quoth he, liketh not the Quene, ne did ever like her from the begynnyng. Insomoch as I thynk adsuredly she be yet as good a mayd for hym as she was whan she came to England. Marie, Sir, quoth the said Wriothesley, I am right sory that his Majesty shuld be so troubled: for Goddes sake devyse how his Grace may be releved by one wey or other. Yea, how, quoth he? I cannot sodainly tel, quoth Wriothesley. But standyng the case as you say it doth, I thynk some wey may be devysed in it. Wel, wel, quoth he, it is a grete mattier. So it is, quoth I, and so we departed for that tyme. The next day following, as I remember, having occasion eftsones for busines to repair unto hym, I chaunced to say, Sir, I have thought somewhat of the mattier ye told me, and I find it a great mattier; but, Sir, it can be made no better than it is. For Goddes sake devyse for the relefe of the King; for if he remain in this gref and trouble, we shal al one day smart for it. If his Grace be quiet, we shal have our parts with hym. It is trew, quoth he, but I tel you, it is a grete mattier. Mary, quoth I, I graunte, but let the remedy be serched for. Wel, quoth he; and thus brake off from me.

Per me Thomam Wriothesley.

X. *The Deposition of Mr. Doctor Chamber.*

The said Mr. Doctor Chamber deposeth, That in his conscience he thinketh the Kings Highnes not to have carnally known the Quene. And he is moved thus to say and think, for that the Kings Highnes used the counsail of the said Dr. Chamber to remedy the indisposition of his Graces body. And the morning after the first night, whan the Kings Highnes lay with the Quene, his Majesty, unasked,

did of hymself say to the said Doctor Chamber, how that he had not that night knowen the Quene. And so he did likewise divers other times, consulting with hym therupon. In which consultation the said Dr. Chamber counsailled his Majesty not to enforce hymself, for eschewing such inconveniences as by debility ensueing in that case were to be 314
feared. And the said Dr. Chamber finally saith, how joyning together the Kings Highnes truth and wisdom, with such reports as his Majesty hath from tyme to tyme made, and adding therunto the disposition of the Kings Highnes body, wherunto he hath ben continually made privy, he estemeth it in his conscience for truth, that the Kings Majesty hath not hitherto known carnally the Quene.

The said Mr. Doctor saith also, how the Kings Majesty hath, as to his physician, secretly declared unto hym, and Mr. Doctor Butts together, how his Grace found her body in such a sort disordered and indisposed to excite and provoke any lust in hym; yea, rather ministring mattier of lothsomenes unto the same, that his Majesty could not in any wise overcome that lothsomeness, ne in her company be provoked or stered to that act.

John Chamber.

XI. *The Deposition of Mr. Doctor Butts.*

The said Mr. Dr. Butts saith, How the morning after the first night the Kings Highnes lay with the Quene, his Majesty said unto hym, and Mr. Dr. Chamber, that he had not that night carnally known the Quene. The second night he lay not with her: the third and fourth night his Grace lay with her, and alweys confessed he could not know her. And so hath contynually confessed unto the said Dr. Butts to this day. And in the mean tyme hath confessed to the said Dr. Butts, that he hath had *duas pollutiones nocturnas in somno*. And thought hymself able to do thact with other but not with her. And upon these informations the said Dr. Butts thinketh that the Kings Highnes did never carnally know her.

The said Dr. Butts saith also, how the Kings Highnes complayned unto hym of the mislyking of her body for the hanging of her brests, and loosnes of her flesh.

W. Butts.

Then followeth a letter of the L. Crumwel's of the same matter, superscribed, To the King my most gracious Soveraign Lord his royal Majestie. *But this I insert not, being already published in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation.*

Vol. i. Coll. p. 193.

Such communication as was betwene the Quenys Grace, and the Ladies of Rutland, Rocheford, and Edgecomb, the Tuesday or Wennesday before Midsommer day last, at Westminster.

First, Al they being together, they wished her Grace with child. And she answered and said, She knew wel she was not with child. My Lady Edgecomb said, How is it possible for your Grace to know that, and ly every night with the King? I know it wel I am not, said she. Than said my Lady Edgecomb, I think your Grace is a mayd stil.
315 With that she laughed. And than said my Lady Rocheford, By our Lady, Madam, I think your Grace is a mayd stil, indede. How can I be a mayd, said she, and slepe every night with the King? There must be more than that, said my Lady Rocheford, or els I had as leve the King lay further. Why, said she, whan he comes to bed he kisses me, and taketh me by the hand, and byddeth me, Good night, swete hart: and in the morning kisses me, and byddeth me, Farewel, darlyng. Is not thys enough? Than said my Lady Rutland, Madam, there must be more than this, or it wil be long or we have a Duke of York, which al this realm most desireth. Nay, said the Quene, is not this enough? I am contented with this, for I know no more. Then said my Lady Rutland, Did not your Grace tel mother Low this? Than said the Quene, Mary, fy, fy, for shame. God forbid. These words she hath said to them

altogethers, and to eche of theym apart divers and sondry tymes. And the Quene declared to my Lady Rocheford, how the King used her the four first nights: which was to theffect afore written.

Eleonore Rutland.
Jane Rocheford.
Catherine Edgecomb.

Then follow the King's own assertions in this business; but Bishop Burnet hath published them in his work of the Reformation aforesaid. And therefore I spare it here.

Number CXV.

Robert Wisdome, a prisoner in Lollard's Tower; his vindication of himself, against certain articles charged upon him.

Grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesu Christ, be with the gentil reader now and ever. Foxii MSS.

IT is no new thing, gentil reader, for preachers to ly by the heels for preaching: nether is it any strange matter for Bishops and Priests to be persecutors of Gods trewthe: which thei afore al men shulde preache and maynteyne. Nether shalt thou mervail mutch at yt, if thou cal to mynd the histories of Helyas, and Micheas, Hieremias, Esaias, and al other the Lords servants and prophets. It shal also appere right wel to thee to be no news, yf thou remembre John Baptist in prison, and Petre in chains; Paul also prisoner of Jesu Christ. And wold to God that examples of our tymes were as rare as they were in the Apostells tyme, and that the new impiety did not far excede the old unfaithfulnes. But as Christ said, the persecution of thes latter dayes is far worse than it was then: as the world groweth in age, so doth the iniquity encrease into the hevin, and provoketh God to strike, if he dare, thes strong and stowte Nembroths, hunters and persecutors of al godlines and goodnes, and mighty repairers and builders of Babel

Mat. xi.
Acts xii.
Eph. iv.
Mat. xxiv.
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now begon to fal. Yt maketh them to rore and cry to se and perceyve that Gods prayses shuld sound out of the mouth of the infants and suckyng children. Nether can thei be content tyl thei have uttered their malice and fury, saying to Christ, Master, rebuke thi disciples. But because Christ wil not rebuke the children, but willeth that thei be brought to him, therfore our new Pharisees rebuke the preachers by casting them into prisons, by making lyes and slanders upon them, and working them al mischief that thei can imagin. And thes are our holy Fathers, and Priests of our mother the holy Catholick Chirche, which have procured the forbidding of the Scripture among the people.
Mat. xv. Wel! let them alone, they are blind, and leaders of the
2 Pet. ii. blind. It is trewth that S. Petre said, *Thei fome owt their*
Dan. ix. *awn shame.* He that readeth the abominacyon standing in
Mar. xiii. 2 Thes. ii. the holy place, and the mystery of iniquity wrought by the
son of perdition, let hym now perceyve, and se, and understand. But be thou of a good hert and strong cowrage in the Lord, which sealeth the seas, and poynteth the waves their limytes, how far thei shal flow, and where their surges shal burst within themselfes. For when men hold their peace, the stones shal cry. So invincible is Gods trewth, that the domb elements must first confes yt, or be suppressed. And as it is impossible to cover the son, but yt wil arise and shine over al the erth, so it is impossible to lett the course of the Gospel, but it shal ever, when God wil have it, come furth, and appere in the harts of men, and prosper in those things wherunto God doth send it.

I. Now forasmuch as many wondre what they lay to my
charge, you shal know, that first afor the Councel was laid
to me certayn textes in a litle boke of the X Command-
1 John v. ments. The texts are these, *Babes, kepe your selfes from*
images. This text thei lay to my charge as an heresy, that I wolde destroy al ymages. But this is my mynd of images. I think that Christen men owght not to worship them, nor serve them. Whether they may be in the temples of Christen men, or no, there are dyvers opinions, but al men agree, that they may not be worshipped. A gret

occasion of slaundre hath come by them not only to infidels, Jews, and Turks; but they have been the cause, that many honest men have bene murderd by Antichrist and his chapleyns thorow the whole world: and whether other abhominatyons have chanced by them, read the xiii. and xiv. of the Boke of Wisdom.

Another article propounded against me is, *That I said Christ shal, at the day of judgment, reward onli of mercy, and not our meryts.* This article is right falsely gathered owt of my sermon in S. Stephens day. Wherin when I had declared what the law of God requireth of us, and how unperfect al our rightwysness is, and had moved al men to set hand upon rightwysnes of faith in Jesu Christ; shewing that he is the perfection of the law to al that beleve; I exhorted to such good works as are required by the law of God. Shewing by the Scripture, that though al our works are unable to stond in the judgment of Christ, and, for their dignytie, to require the immortal glory: yet God of his rich mercy wold, for Christ and in Christ, accept them as perfect and welpleasing, and reward them with the crown of immortal glory. And in this declaring, I recyted a saying of S. Austen, which is this, "*Thou, O God, shalt save them,* " saith David, *for nothing.* What is this, *Thou shalt save* " *them for nothing?* Thou findest in them nothing, wherby " thou mayest save them, and yet dost thou save them. " Freely thou givest, freely thou savest. Thou goest be" fore al meryts, that thy gifts may obtayn thy meryts. " Utterly dost thou give freely, save freely; which findest " nothing wherof thou mayest save, and findest much, " wherof thou mayest condempn." And agein, " Thou hast " done no good, and yet is remission of sins given unto " thee. Let the works be loked upon, and thei be found " al evyl. If God shuld geve thee that which is dew to " thy works, he shuld surely dampn thee. But he giveth " not the pain dew, but giveth thee grace, which is not " dew." And again, " When God crowneth thy meryts, he " crowneth nothing but his own gifts. For the Psalmist " saith, *He crowneth thee with mercy and loving kindnes.*"

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In Ps. xxxi.

Good works. But thes texts and sayings of the Doctors sounded so in the ears of one Hoggard, that, according to his name, he swynishly hath accused me. This is myne opinion of good works: Those are good works that the Scripture of God alloweth for good: that is, al that tend to the glory of God, and to the profit of our Christen brother. Thes works ought every Christen man to apply with al his power: and yet knowledging the imperfectnes of this lyfe to say, Luc. xvii. as Christ teacheth, *We are unprofitable servants.* Notwithstanding ther remayneth much reward to those works; forasmuch as God by Christ accepteth them as perfect, and crowneth them, not for their awn dignity, but for the dignity of Christ, in whom thei are accepted. And wold to God al that profess Christ in tonge and word, wold study to excel in good works in dede and trewth: and then might they assuredly loke for the reward of God, rewarder of al goodnes. But we cry out, and wil have no less then hevin for our works; which yet are such, as nether are commaunded of God, and nothing at al profit our neibour. We esteam him an holy one that every day heareth a mas or twayn: yet wil he not gretly stick to ly, forswere, disteyne and beguyle his neibour. He that eateth no eggs on the Friday is ownted to fast wel; but the same shal, with his virulent and adders tonge, devoure and eat his brother by backbyting. Another seameth to have perfect holines for saying over his beads; yet shal the same be nother affraid, like an Hoggard, to persecute and accuse even of heresie his Christen brother, and with his lyes and slanderous tonge embrew his hands with bloud of innocents. Such was Mat. xxiii. the holines of the old Pharisees, to tyth mint and annett: but the weighty matters of the law, judgment, faith, and mercy, they overpassed.

So our new Pharisees invent every one his awn phantasie to be good works, but the good works assigned and commaunded of God, they not once so much loke for it. And whensoever this their hypocrisie is a litil towched, then begin thes godly ones to breath out their firy charitie, and 318 cannot rest in quiet tyl thei have accomplished their nature, and murdered their pore brother Abel. Oh! hypocrisie! O! devilish dissimulation! O! fained sanctitie! Double iniquity! With what face, countenance, and chere canst thou lift up thy hands to God, the fowntayn of goodnes, seing thy mynd overfloweth so with malignity and mischefe? How askest thou mercy of God, that nourishest such crueltie ageynst thy brother? How darest thou approch to God, which giveth benefits to the unworthy and unkind, when thou art so ungentil and ful of wickednes, to work mischefe and evil to him that studiously seeketh to do al men good and profit? How wilt thou drink, nay once come nere to drink the bloud of the testament, which dost nothing else but imagyne how to shed the bloud of thy neibour? Oh! Pharisee, hypocrite, seak first jugement, faith, and mercy, and make clean that which is within, and so shalt thou be sure to please God. He *seketh judgment*, that cometh into the consideration of his awn conscience, and ther deliteth with the law of God, and tryeth and examineth al his words and dedes. And he that thus doth shal have smal pleasure in his awn rightwysnes, nor no gret lust to crake of his awn deserts or meryts. He shal rather confes the saying of David to be trew; *Lord, no lyving creature shal be justified in thi sight.* And as Job saith, *If he wil contend with me, I cannot answer one for a thousand.*

Loke on Chrysost. in the 89th hom. of Prayer.

A place of Matthew expounded, chap. xxiii.

Ps. cxlii.

But that men stick so sore to their awn meryts, it is an evident token that such never yet knew the law, nor felt the condempnation of it in their consciences: which whoso fealeth, shal soon cast down his pecock taile that before he spred, and so much gloried in. To *seak faith* is to do al things after the word of God: which whoso doeth, shal be assured in his conscience, that his work pleaseth God. But he that goeth about to please God by his awn dreams and imaginations, without the word, the same can never be satisfied, nor certainly persuaded, that he pleaseth God, but stil evermore doubteth and wavereth in mynd, whether he pleaseth God, or no. Which, what is it else but unfaithfulnes and sin? If this faith were sowght for among men, they doubtles would be more ernestly bent to do the works com-

Heb. x. xi. Rom. xiv.

manded of God, and not so redy to destroy those that godly rebuketh hypocrisie and wickednes of the world. He *seaketh mercy*, that considereth the gret mercies of God, shewed hym of God, and studyeth to be merciful, as the hevenly Father is merciful. He that doth this, seketh not to murder his brother, but rather to save his life; not to empoverish and beggar him, but rather to mayntain his substance and welth. He that doth thus, seaketh not how to slaundre, backbyte, betray, and falsely accuse his neiboure, but as Christ hath covered his faults, so spredeth he furth charitie to his brother, and covereth his faults with charitie, which hydeth the multitude of sins. Briefly, the man that seaketh this mercy is ful of bowels of pity, gentilnes, mildnes, patience, and long suffering; he is even another Christ to his neibour, doth good to al men, and hurt to no man, and evermore seaketh not his awn, but that which pleaseth Jesu Christ. And as for glorying in his awn merits and works, he cannot, but acknowledgeth the saying of the Apostel to be trew, *What hast thou but thou hast received it? Yf thou receyvedst it, why boostest thou as though thou receyvedst it not?* And ageine, *Let him that boosteth, boost in the Lord.*

Luc. vi.

1 Pet. iv.

1 Cor. iv.

1 Cor. i.

319 III. There was laid ageinst me another article of Hoggard, thus. *He said, al mens traditions shal be plucked up by the rote*, as Christ saith, *Every plant that my hevenly Father hath not planted, shal be plucked up by the rote.* This article, said the Bishop of Sarum, is anabaptistical. Wel, let it be what ye wil. I nether so spake nor thought; but I said thus indede; Al mens traditions, contrary to the law of God, and to the doctrine of Christs trewth, shal be plucked up by the rote. For so hath Christ said, *Every plant that my hevenly Father planted not, shal be plucked up by the rotes.* And God hath so wrought even before our eyes, that we may se this every day more and more fulfilled. The abolishing of the Romain Bishop, the throwing down of abbays, the destruction of sects, the putting away of pelting perdons, and the roting out of famous idols, teach plainly, that hevin and erth may pass, but the word of God shal not pass.

Matt. xv.

The residue of al the Romain impostures must neads fall, though al the Papists wold set to their shuldres, and lift and undreprop til thei burst. And this I say to you in the word of the Lord, that the day wil come, when the very rote of al popery, even your masses, wil be plucked up by the rote; and al the world shal know how shamefully ye abuse the holy Supper of the Lord, and how now like tyrants ye be in persecuting and burning pore men. In that day wil your shaven crown, the charact and mystery of iniquity, cease, according to the saying of Daniel, *Cum venerit Sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra.* And then it shal be *evangelical* to preach, *Every plant that the hevinly Father hath not planted, shal be plucked up by the rotes:* and not, as the Bishop of Sarum saith, *anabaptistical.* For then shal ye no more be called *lords;* and al your pomp and power wil have such a fal, as al the world shal wondre at the sodeyn destructyon of Babylon, and at the fal of the shameless idol Baal, and his shaven chapleyns. And as ye have brewed to others, so shal the Lord brew to you a bytter sore cup, and avenge upon you the bloud of al rightwyse, that ye have shed from the beginning. In that day the Lord wil shew mercy upon his Church of England, and wil give them shephards according to his wil, that shal teach them the Scripture, and not forbid it them. Even such Bishops as are written of in Pauls Epistles. Then shal your unpure chastity be known to be a filthy, wicked, and detestable kind of Sodomitical buggerie, and an whole sea of whoredom and unclennes. Then shal wedlock be honorable among al men, and the bed therof holy, pure, and undefiled. And shameful whoredom shal be banished owt of Gods ministers, and owt of al good and honest company, and not once able to shew her whorish face. Lord Jesu arise, and accomplish this shortly. Let not Antichrist and his chapleyns prevail any longer. O Lord, judg thou them, and destroy thou them; for their pride is come up to the hevin.

Note this, for yt wil come to pass, and that shortly.

1 Tim. iii.

They have a saying, *Malum bene collocatum non est dimovendum. An evil wel placed is not to be removed.* This

appereth to be the saying of some such, as said to Paul, Rom. iii. *Let us do evil that good may come therof.* But let al such take heed what Paul testifieth of such, *Their damnation,* The Papists know their popery to be nowght. saith he, *is rightwyse.* But by this it appereth, that they themselfes think their popery to be nowght, evil and wicked; yet it may not be towched, because it is wel placed. O
320 hypocrites and placers of iniquity! which wil worship, I think, the devil himself, if he were wel placed. Is this the cure of a Bishop, to suffre an evil wel placed? How agreeth evil with the holy Church of God? Cal ye that *wel placed,* that standeth in the dispite of God, in the blasphemy and dishonor of his name, in the contempt of his Gospel and Hier. i. word? God said to Hieremy, *I have appointed thee over nations and kingdomes, that thou shuldest pluck up by the rotes, and destroy, and throw down, and build, and plant.* This is the office of a trew Bishop, to pluck up *malum bene collocatum,* and not only to remove it, but utterly to destroy it: and to place instead of yt the holy word of God. Which, as it is the moost precious treasure that ever was, so at this day (the more pytie) it is but slenderly placed. Wel, you wil not dimove that evil wel placed: but the day Apoc. ii. wil come, that he that holdeth seven starrs in his right hand, and walketh among the seven golden candlesticks, wil come swiftly, and remove your candlestick from his place, except ye repent. And then your *evil wel placed* shal come to nowght, and perish with the workers of it. Yet when that day cometh, remembre, that I, whom you murdered, gave you warning how you might escape that daunger.

There cam in ageinst me one Sir John Massy, and toke his oth devoutly, that he wold testify but trewth, and al trewth. What he layd to my charge, I know not. Thes are al the matters they have ageinst me, save that they sowght out of the Bishop of Londons register old accusations layd to my charge two yeres agone, and as truly gathered then ageinst me as thes mine adversaries have gathered now. Notwithstanding the Bishop of London then swore by his baptism I shuld never more here of yt[a].

[a] Yet I herde of it now.

D. Roystons. Vicar Gale, of Howsted in Essex.

IV. The article then ageinst me was of *free wil.* That I shuld then have said, *A man hath no free wil to do good.* This I said, and say again, that a man by the powre and strength of his awn free wil only, is not able ether to do good or to think good: but that he may do and think, and long to do ony thing good afore God, the H. Goost must come and create a new hert, and governe him into al trewth. Thou art created, healed, and saved. Which of all thes hast thou of thy self, O man? Which of al these ys not impossible for thy free wil? Man could not create himself before he was made, nor redeme hymself when he was fallen; nor yet can he conserve and kepe himself after he is redemed. *Kepe me, O Lord,* saith David, *for my trust is* Ps. xv. *in thee.* Ageine, *The Lord kepeth thee: the Lord is thy pro-* Ps. cxx. *tection, better than thy right hand.*

V. Another article, *That I spake ageinst the invocation and praying to saints.* As for invocatyon, which is to desire some good thing that we have nede of to be given us, or that some evil thing, that greveth us, to be taken awey from us; this is the work of the third commandment, and so pertayneth to God, that it is not to be given to ony creature in hevin and erth. Saynts of God are right hyly to be praysed, and their lyvings to be followed: which the hypocrits litel regarde. And to desire them to pray with us and for us, I think it after a maner tolerable. But he that Joh. xiv. xv. xvi. never prayeth to them is never the farther from God, so he Chrys. in Matt. cap. xxiii. lean and pray to Christ, in whose name, and not in the saints, we are commanded to make our prayers. But what 321 a preposterous hypocrisy of holines is this, to make so much prating of worshipping saints, and to despise the holines that the saints had in their lyving! To magnify the prophets that are dead, and to persecute the prophets that are alyve! To laud and extol the Apostels, and to condempn them for heretiques that teach the Apostels doctrine! Cal ye this worshipping of saynts? *Wo to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, that gilde the sepultures and monuments of saints, saying, Yf we had bene in our fathers dayes, we wold not have bene their felowes in the bloudshede of the* *prophets. Thus ye witnes, that ye are their children that slew the prophets. Fulfill you also the measure of your fathers. You serpents, adders-fry, how wil ye escape the judgment of God?*

Col. iii. I besech thee, gentil reader, *cloth thyself, as an elect of God, a saint and beloved, with bowels of pitye, and kind hert, gentilnes, modesty, and humilitie, patience, long-suffring, and charitie, peace, goodly joy, liberalite, faith, meakness, and temperancy.* As for praying to the dead saints, thou art not commanded nor counseled in the Scripture. Lev. xix. 1 Pet. i. But to have thes vertues God commanded, saying, *Be ye holy, as I am holy.* The unction of God, which teacheth al things, shal also teach you what is best, according to the wil of God: to whom I commend thee.

VI. *Item*, Another article. *He spake against censing in the church, and other ceremonies, and against organs, calling them* poping; *wherfore what should ye do with them?*

Al the care is to maynteyn and uphold ceremonies, images, and singing, and playing on organs. But as for Gods word preaching or reding, they care not at al. Thei are like to a nurse, that taketh awey an apple from a child, and eateth it herself; and because the child shuld not cry, she giveth it a puppet of clowts to dandle with. Even so thei have taken awey the word of God; and because the people shuld not require it agein, they have such stuff in the place of it as is agreable for such pastours. But let al hypocrites know, that like as no Christen man but alloweth al goodly ceremonies, and that are done in an ordre to edifying, having thes significations declared owt of Gods word; so nether I, nor none that love God, can allow that the people of God shuld be blindly and ignorantly noseled in ceremonious superstition, without their dew instruction to godlynes. And as psalmes, hymnes, and spiritual songs owght to be songe to the Lord in our herts, and all spirits must prayse God; so dowbtles it is nothing commendable, but utterly to be reproved, that the people shal come to the churches, and tary there three or four hours, and have nothing tawght them of God, or of his word, but only here a noise in a forayne tonge, that unneth the singers themselves understand. Thus did I speak ageynst your singing, piping, censing, and al other your popery don without fruit, to the dishonor of God, to the hindrance of his word, to the mayntenance of al hypocritical superstition and papistry.

VII. Another article. Item, *He spake ageinst trental masses, saying, thei profit not sowles departed.* This article, I think, thei take for my greatest heresie. For indede this wringeth their god-belly, that his eyes water for pain. Yt is now tyme to loke about, when that *golden trental* is 322 towched. This *trental* is the main post that upholdeth al the house. Wel, I wil deal gently with you, because when this were gone, a gret many of you might begg. For ye can nether preach nor teach, nor do ony other good work to get your living. And when ye have proved the history of S. Gregories mother to be trew, then wil I allow you S. Gregories trental. In the mean season I wil exhort al that profes the name of Jesu Christ, that they so lyve in this lyfe in the fear of God, and works of his commandments, that at their deth thei neade not your trental. For sure if thei do, I am afraid they shal purge a good while in hel, or your trental wil help them.

VIII. There was sent for into Essex one Mr. Leswel, who herd me preach upon Ester Tuesday was two yere. This man brought in a byl of report upon my sermon, as here followeth: "Syr Robert Wisdome exhorteth his parishners "to take the Scripture in their hands, when thei met toge- "ther on the Sondayes and holydayes at the alehouse, and "to talk, and commune, and reason of yt." This article I preached and so tawght indede. This is no heresy. Yea, but said my Lord of London, when thei are drunken thei shal unreverendly handle the Scripture, and much mischief may come by yt. I answer, I therfore exhorted them to have the Scripture in their hands, that, remembring the fear of God, thei might abstain from excess and dronkenship. Nether is it the talking of the Scripture that bredeth ony evil, but the mischevous and malicious herts of Papists and hypocrites, that cannot abide the Scripture. Their owlish eyes wil not suffer them to abide the light. Their works are evil, and they wil not come to the light, lest theyr works shuld be rebuked. But if sometime perchance evil happen among them that have the word of God present, what mischef, abhomination, blasphemies, detractions, slandres, backbyting, rybaldry, filthy communication, unclean gestures, uncheritable rayling, horrible othes, and such other mischef wil be among them that have not Gods words among them? What is the cause of so many dronkards, so much pride, that men set so much by themself, and so litil by God, that they are so covetous, so puft up, such shameful hypocrites, such horrible swerers, so cursed tonged, so disobedient to their parents, so unthankful, so ungodly, and unnatural, such brekers of promise and covenaunts, such raylers, so intemperate, so cruel, so neglecting al goodnes, such traitors and so falseherted to their prince, so heady in al mischef, so blowen up, such flatterers and lyars, such folowers of beastly lusts, rather than the love of God? Surely nothing else, but that thei have throwen from them the word of God, and there is no wisdome in them.

Joh. iii.

These are the frutes of such as hate God's word.

It is seditious to rede the Scripture, but to talk of whordom, of filthines, of craft, mischef, and al ungodlines, doth no hurt at al, say our hypocrites. But I must neads be an heretick for exhorting them to the reading of the Scripture, and thei Catholicks that condempn the Scripture. To talk of Christs deth, cros, passion, resurrection, is seditious: to talk of unclennes, and such filthines as infecteth the very air, is not only tolerable, but also laudable. I preached it even so, and I repent it not: make on it what yee please.

323 Another. *Item*, he said, *I trust to God to se the day,*
IX. *that maydes wil sing the Scripture at their wheles, and plowmen at their plow.* I thank God, thorow my Lord Jesu Christ, I have sene that day, and I know husbandmen and men of occupation at this day, as wel seen or better in the Scriptures then a gret many of priests, yea then some that were heads, and are called *rabbi* and master doctor at every word. The name of God be blessed for it.

Item, he said, *We have a lyving Christ, and not a Christ of clowts.* This I said, say, and wil say; my Lord Jesu Christ is risen from the death, and lyveth and reygneth Lord and King in the glory of his Father, world without end; able to save, kepe, maintayne, and defend al his servants from sin, deth, devil, despair, hel, and damnatyon, and from al evils bodily and gostly; and he is al good, and wil work al things to their salvatyon that trust in him. And he is able to destroy and punish al his adversaries with al maner of plages in their bodies, and with everlasting damnatyon in their sowles. And surely so wil he do, except thei repent the soner, and ask for mercy. Thei shal know right wel, that he is nothing pleased with ther shameful hypocrisy, and glistering superstition, nor with the abhominatyons that reygne in this myserable and wretched world. Thei shal not find him a Christ of clowts, one that cannot do the office of God. But as he is God indede, so shal al the wicked feal his mighty hand and powre, except thei repent. For he shal deliver them unto wrath, indignatyon, tribulatyon, and perpetual anguysh and damnatyon, that shal come upon the sowle of al that work iniquitie. I trust ye wil let this stand for trewth til another yere. X. Rom. vi. Phil. ii. Eph. i. Rom. viii. 2 Thess. i. Rom. ii.

Item, he said, that *sowles departed do not come again and walk, and play bo-peap with us.* I said so indede. What is then to be said to such apparitions as many one have seen in our days? Surely nothing but the words of S. Paul; *Forasmuch as men receyved not the love of trewth, that they might be saved, God shal send among them strong illusions, that they may beleve lyes: that thei al may be judged that beleved not the trueth, but approved unrightwysnes.* We be wonderous careful for dead saints, for dead mens apperings; but that God commaunded, we seak nothing for. *They have*, said Christ, *Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.* Nay, say we, the dead gosts walk, and we will have an one or other Sir John to conjure them. And then the puling sely goost must have pilgrimage to this place or that place, and thus many trental masses, and masses of *scala cœli*, &c. And to blind the eyes XI. 2 Thess. ii. Luc. xvi.

of men, he requireth almesse to some convent of munks and friers, &c. But thanks to God, ever since the word of God came in, thei nether be herd nor sene.

As concerning the place whither the spirits of men depart, the Scripture saith, that al rightwyse shal be with Christ, and the wicked shal be dampned from the face of God, and Prov. xiv. the glory of his saynts. *When the ungodli man dieth, there shal be no more recovery*, or hope, *for him, and the loking of those that are careful for him shal perish. The rightwyse man shal be delyvered from payne*, or sorow. Joan. iii. *He that beleveth in Christ is not judged, but he that beleveth not is judged alredy. Because he beleved not in the name of the only Son of God.* Agein, *He that beleveth the Son hath* 324 *eternal lyfe: but he that beleveth not the Son, shal not se life, but the wrath of God continueth upon him.* And S. De Verb. Ap. Serm. 18. Austin saith, *After this life ther are two dwelling places, one in the everlasting fire, another in the everlasting kingdom.* Cont. Pelag. Hypog. lib. v. Ageine he saith, *First, surely the Catholique faith, by the divine aucthoritie, beleveth that ther is the kingdom of hevin; from whence, as I have said, he that is not baptized is excepted. Secundly, That ther is hel, where every one that forsaketh Christ, or els that is not of the faith of Christ, fealeth by experience that ther are punishments.* As for the third place, we are utterly ignorant of it; nether find we in the Scriptures that there is ony such. Belike therfore this *purgatory* began since S. Austines days, when men were more studious to seak such dead holynes, than S. Austine was: whose care was to instruct with reding, preaching, and exhorting men in this life, and not to mass them, and trental them, when they be dead.

I exhort therfore al Christen men, lyve godly in this life, and loke for the life to come with Christ. And when ony Christen man dieth, commend his body to the erth with honest Christen burial, and his sowle to God with psalmes and In Joan. cap. 19. devout prayers, with almes dedes; which, as Chrysostom saith, shal much profit him, and be an ornament to him in the holy resurrection.

XII. Item, *That one of us ought to bere anothers burthen. As* *in the body the bonys strengthen and maintayn the flesh.* This is S. Pauls doctrin, Rom. xv. Gal. vi. Ephes. iv. Col. iii. and S. Petre, 1 Pet. iv. and S. Joan, 1 Joan. iii. and S. James, Jac. ii. iii. and S. Jude i.

XIII. *Item,* He said, *That there was no difference of meats: but that a man might eat al meats at al tymes.* This article he falsely layeth to my charge. Although by the Scripture it is trew, nevertheles bycause of politique ordre, I wold have men not be heady upon flesh at such times as yt is forbydden them. Rom. xiv. *The kingdom of hevin is not meat and drink, but rightwisnes, and peace and joy in the Holy Goost.* And certayn, those that thus serve God are accepted afore him. And as they are blameworthy, that without a reasonable nead, breke the publick order; so are thei as much to be rebuked, that have their consciences so marked 1 Tim. iv. with the iron of scrupulous superstition, that thei wil not tast an egg for an C. pound upon the Friday, or in Lent; no, though the King by proclamatyon licence his subjects so to do. Such hypocrites wil not stick to slandre, backbyte, falsely accuse, and seke ther brothers bloud; and to Mat. xv. poll and pill ther neibours, and to begile them. Where in very dede of thes things shuld thei have conscience, and not of that which entreth into the mouth and belly, and is cast owt into the draught. *Christen men* (saith Austin) De Salut. Document. cap. 48. *kepe two fasts at once: that is, abstaining the body from meat, and the sowl from wrath, fury, detraction, and blasphemy and brawling. For, as we have before shewed, thes are the deadly meats, or rather poysons to the sowl, that feedeth it into evil, and kil it with death everlasting.* And Origen In Hom. 10. cap. 16. saith, *Wilt thou that I shal shew thee what fast thou art bound to fast? Fast from al yll dedes: fast from ill words: abstene from evil thowghts.*

The cause of all this matter, envy. Thus have you all the matters, both new and old, that are layd unto me. But yet ther is one, that is the special and only cause of al my troble, that is, the gret envy that myne adversaries had, that the people so followed me when 325 I preached. For the Bishop of Harford[a] said, that it was not for nowght, that so gret resort was to my sermons, ra-

[a] Hereford, who then was Boner.

ther than to other better lerned than I, that had not half the audience. It is, seid he, a token that ye teach some private doctrin, and not as al other do. I answered, that [I called] God and my conscience to witnes, I taught never other than that the Scripture of God teacheth. And that have I ever taught to the best of my wyt and connynge. And that it pleased God to move their herts to come, and to give me grace to edify them with his word, I do hartily thank God for yt.

This indede is the very only cause of my punishment. It greved them to se the people so drawen to here me; and I never wold in my sermons teach such beggery and trash as Joan. xii. and xi. some of them teach. And *loe!* said thei, *yee se that we profect nothing at al. Loe! al the world goeth after him. What shal we do? This fellow hath an exceding audience. Yf we let him alone thus, al wil beleve him.* And so the council concluded that I must ly by the heles. Wel, thanks to God for his holy hand and merciful chastisement. And the blessed wil of God be don in me both in life and deth, *Amen*, and thanks to God.

Eph. vi. Ps. i. Now, gentil reder, I beseche thee, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his strength. Arme thee with the armour of God: and studiously apply the study of God's Scripture, night and day, that thou mayst be a frutful olive tree Ps. xcii. in the house of the Lord. Pray continually unto the Lord, 2 Thes. v. and without cessing. Desire his mercy to send furth workmen into his hervest, and to open the dore of faith, that his Mat. ix. holy word may yet once have free passage. And pray for me, that al the wil of God may be perfectly don in me, that I may have strength in his Spirit, that God may be glorified in me. And, yf it be the Lords pleasure, that I may be delyvered from this hel: as I trust to be, the rather for your Phil. i. prayers. Let al your conversation be such as becometh the Eph. v. Tit. ii. children of light, in al sobrietie, rightwisnes, and godlines; as ye have ever be taught by the holy Gospel of Christ. Col. iii. And as I have ever admonished and warned you, walk wisely, because of such as yet are estranged from the trewth; and redeme the tyme, for the dayes are evil. Let your

words and talk be evermore powdered with grace, and beware what ye speake, and to whom. Do good to al men, Gal. vi.
especially to such as are of the houshold of faith. Knowing, Mat. xxv.
what you do to the littil ones, you do it to Christ. Salute 2 Cor. xiii.
one another with the holy kiss. This is my salutatyon to al that love the Lord Jesu unfainedly. Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith, from God the Father, and the Lord Eph. vi.
Jesu Christ. The grace of our Lord Jesu Christ be with you al, *Amen.*

Sent from Lollards Towre by Robert Wisdome,
Prisoner of Jesu Christ.

Number CXVI. 326

Edicta Stephani Vintoniensis Episcopi, Cancellarii Cantabrigiensis, de Pronuntiatione Linguæ Græcæ et Latinæ.

STEPHANUS Wintoniensis Episcopus, Academiæ Can- Joann. Cheki, De Pronuntiatione.
tabrigiensis Cancellarius, cum meâ tum senatus universi auctoritate legitima, rogatione ad me delata quid in literarum sonis, ac linguæ tum Græcæ tum Latinæ pronuntiatione, spectandum, sequendum, tenendum, sic itaque edico:

Quisquis nostram potestatem agnoscis, sonos, literis sive Græcis sive Latinis, ab usu publico præsentis seculi alienos, privato judicio affingere ne audeto.

Quod vero ea in re major aucthoritas edixerit, jusserit, præceperit, id omnes amplectuntor et observanto.

Diphthongos Græcas, nedum Latinas, nisi id diæresis exigat, sonis ne diducito, neve divellito. Quæsitam usu alteri vocalium prærogativam ne adimito. Sed ut marem fœminæ dominari sinito. Quæ vero earum in communione soni usu convenerunt, iis tu negotium ne facessito.

Aι et ε, οι et ει ab ι sono ne distinguito. Tantum in orthographia discrimen servato. H, ι, υ uno eodemque sono exprimito. Cujusque tamen propriam in orthographia sedem diligenter notato.

In κ et γ, quoties cum diphthongis aut vocalibus sonos ι aut ε referentibus consonantur, quoniam a doctis etiamnum in usu variantur, aliis densiorem, aliis tenuiorem sonum af-

fingentibus, utriusque pronuntiationis modum discito: ne aut horum aut illorum aures offendas; neve de sonis litem inutiliter excites. Cæterùm, qui in his sonus a pluribus receptus est, illum frequentato.

B literam ad exemplum nostri B, ne inspissato, sed ad imitationem V consonantis mollius proferto.

Literas π et τ, item γ et κ, pro loco et situ alios atque alios sonos admittere memento. Itaque τ et π, tum demum β, quum proximè locantur, hæc post μ, illa post ν, his locis videlicet litera τ referat nostrum D, π vero B nostrum exprimat.

Litera porro γ cum proxima sedem occupet ante κ, χ, aut aliud γ, huic tu non suum, sed sonum ν literæ accommodato, κ autem post γ positæ sonum γ affingito.

Ne multa. In sonis omnino ne philosophator, sed utitor præsentibus. In hiis siquid emendandum sit, id omne authoritati permittito. Publicè vero profiteri quod ab auctoritate sancita diversum, et consuetudine loquendi recepta alienum sit, nefas esto.

Quod hic exprimitur, id consuetudini consentaneum ducito, hactenusque pareto.

Siquis autem, quod abominor, secus fecerit, et de sonis (re sanè, si ipsam spectes, levicula, si contentionis inde natæ indignitatem, non ferenda) controversiam publicè moverit, aut obstinato animi proposito receptum a plerisque sonorum modum abrogare aut improbare perrexerit; quive
327 sciens prudens ad hoc data opera, quod hic sancitum est, verbo factove publico, palam contempserit, hunc hominem, quisquis is erit, ineptum omnes habento; et a senatu, siquidem ex eo numero jam fuerit, is qui auctoritati præest, nisi resipuerit, expellito. Inter candidatos verò si sit, ab omni gradu honoris arceto. Ex plebe autem Scholarium si fuerit, quum ita haberi id ei commodo esse possit, pro Scholari ne censeto. Puerilem denique temeritatem, siquid publicè ausa fuerit, domi apud suos castigari curato.

Postremò, Vicecancellarius et Procuratores, quæ hic præscripta sunt, ne contemnantur, neve edicto fraus aliqua fiat, pro modo jurisdictionis singuli providento.

Ab his siquid adversum hæc admissum sit, aut omissum, mulcta est quam dixerit Cancellarius.

In summa, hoc edictum omnes sacrosanctum ita habento, ut nec contumacibus remissum, nec resipiscentibus severum, esse videatur. Datum Londini 18 calend. Junias, anno Domini 1542.

Number CXVII.

Stephen, Lord Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, to Dr. Edmunds, his Vice-Chancellor; reproving the University's neglect in observing Lent, and requiring the observation of the order for pronouncing Greek.

C.C.C.C. Library. Miscel. Cantabr.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR. After my right hearty commendations; Yee shal understand I have been advertised, how divers of the Regents of that University, who should rule, and be good examples to others, have the Lent last past very dissolutely used themselves in eating of flesh. Which fault how it hath been punished here, I am sure, ye have heard. Wherein I have been noted a great advancer and setter forth of that punishment. Which rumor albeit it be not true, and that indeed the Kings Majesty himself, with the advise of the rest of his Councel, did earnestly prosecute, as the effect hath shewed in some that misorder; yet nevertheles, because the fault is greater in Scholars than in others, and especially called to the state of Regents, I cannot quietly pass over and neglect this information, having so apparant and manifest truth, as it hath been brought to light sundry wayes, as this bearer can inform you. Unto whom, I pray you, give credence therin. Wherfore, I pray you, travail with me for reformation. Which I would have so used as the matter might be punished without increase of the slander, which might do hurt to the whole University. And therfore I have devised and thought good, that ye should secretly speak with such as be noted faulty, and inducing them to confess their fault, and pay some fine, by your discretion, to be taxed to the use of the University: so to dismiss them without further publishing of their

names. Wherin I would ye used such temperance, as the paine were not contemned, ne the party grieved aboue his
328 astate. But I wil have it in any wise punished: for I wil not suffer the University with these dissolute manners to be corrupt. Londs have not been given, ne lectures founded for any such evil purpose. If the offenders wil have pity of themselves and their own fame, and so privily and secretly with you submit themselves to punishment, I wil gladly bear with them. But otherwise this charitable way not regarded, I wil procede to an open inquisition, and note the fault where I find it. I am not desirous to know their names, but onely to understand from you, that by payment of the taxation the matter is punished. Wherof, I pray you, certify me as shortly as ye shal have done any thing in it.

The last year, by consent of the whole University, I made an order concerning pronunciation of the Greek tongue, appointing paines to the transgressors, and finally to the Vice-Chancellor, if he saw them not executed. Wherin, I pray you, be persuaded, that I wil not be deluded and contemned. I did it seriously, and I wil maintain it. If you se the transgressors punished, I have cause to be contented: but otherwise I intend in you, and the Proctors persons, to use mine authority, given me by the University: wherunto I trust yee wil not enforce me. To be Chancellor of the University is onely honor, which by contempt is taken away. And I wil beware to give any man cause to contemn me. What information I have, I wil not write: but by that I shal see henceforth, I wil believe that is past. How necessary it is to bridle the arrogance of youth, the experience of your years hath, I doubt not, taught you. And it would much grieve me privately to have any variance with you, with whom I have had so old acquaintance. Which cannot be, if ye suffer them not by toleration to hope more of you, then ye would avow they should.

The Kings Majesty hath, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, componed al matters of religion: which uniformity I pray God it may in that, and al other things, extend unto us: and forgeting al that is past, go forth in agreement, as tho there had been no such matter. But I wil withstand fancies even in pronunciation, and fight with the enemies of quiet at the first entry. Wherfore I pray you, Master Vice-Chancellor, look earnestly on these matters, and give me cause, by your industry, to rejoyce in the University: and onely to care for acquieting our matters with the town. Wherin, I trust, ye shal have good speed by the grace of God: who send you hartily wel to fare. At the Court, 15 May. **Anno 1543.**

Your assured loving friend,
Ste. Winton.

Number CXVIII. 329

John Leland's new-year's gift to King Henry, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

WHERAS it pleased your Highnes, upon very just considerations, to encourage me, by the auctorite of your most gracyous commyssion in the xxxv. year of your most prosperous reygn, to peruse and dylygentlie to search al the lybraries of monasteryes and collegyes of thys your noble realm; to the entent that the monuments of auncyent writers, as wel of other nacyons as of your own provynce, myght be brought out of deadlie darkness to lyvelie lyght, and to receyve lyke thanks of their posteritie, as they hoped for at such tyme, as they employed theyr long and great studyes to the publyque wealth: yea, and furthermore, that the holy Scripture of God myght be syncerely taught and learned, al maner of superstycyon and crafty-coloured doctryne of a rowt of Romayne Bysshopps, totally expelled out of this your most Catholyque realme: I think it now no less than my very dewtie, brevely to declare to your Majestie, what frute have spronge of my laborious journey and costy enterprise, both rooted upon your infynyte goodness and lyberalyte, qualities ryght hyghly to be estemed in al prynces, and most specyally in yow, as naturally your own wel known proprietes. **Ex Balæo.**

First, I have conserved many good authors, the which otherwise had bene lyke to have peryshed, to no smal in-commodite of good letters. Of the which, part remayne in the most magnificent lybraryes of your royal palaces: part also remayne in my custodie. Wherby I trust ryght shortly so to describe your most noble realm, and to publysh the majestie of the excellent acts of your progenitours, hytherto sore obscured, both for lack of empryntyng of such works as lay secretly in corners; as also because men of eloquence hath not enterprised to set them fourth in a floryshing style, in some tymes past not commenly used in England of wryters, otherwyse wel-learned: and now in such estymacyon, that except truth be delycately clothed in purpure, her wrytten verytees can scant fynd a reader. That al the world shal evydently perceyve, that no particular region may justely be more extolled than yours, for true nobylyte and vertues at al poynts renoumed.

Farthermore, part of the exemplaries curyously sought by me, and fortunately found in sondry places of this your domynion, hath bene emprynted in Germany, and now be in the presses chefely of Frobenius: that not alonely the Germans, but also the Italians themself, that count, as the Grekes did ful arrogantly, al other nacyons to be barbarous and unlettered, saving their own, shal have a direct occasyon openly of force to say, that BRITANNIA *prima fuit parens, altrix, addo hoc etiam, et jure quidem optimo, conservatrix, cum virorum magnorum, tum maximè ingeniorum:* that is, *Britain was the first mother, nurse, and I adde* (*and that deservedly*) *maintainer, as of great men, so of great wits especially.*

330 And that profyt hath rysen by the aforesaid journey, in brynging ful many thyngs to light, as concernyng the usurped autoryte of the Bysshop of Rome and hys complyces, to the manyfest and vyolent derogacyon of kyngly dygnyte, I referre my self most humbly to your most prudent, lerned, and hygh judgment, to dyscerne my dylygence in the long volume, wherin I have made answer for the defence of your *supreme dygnyte*, alonely leanyng to the strong pillar of holy Scrypture, agaynst the whole college of Romanysts, clokyng their crafty assercyons and arguments undre the

name of one poor Pighius of Ultraject in Germany: and standyng to them as to their only ankerhold agaynst tempests that they know wyl aryse, yf truth may be by lycence let in, to have a voyce in the general council.

Yet herein only I have not pytched the supreme work of my labour, wherunto your Grace, most lyke a kyngly patron of al good learnyng, did anymate me: but also consyderyng and expendyng with my self, how great a numbre of excellent godly wyts and wryters, learned with the best, as the tymes served, hath bene in this your region; not only at such tymes as the Roman emperors had recourse to it, but also in those days that the Saxons prevayled of the Brytayns, and the Normans of the Saxons; I could not but with a fervent zele and an honest courage commend them to memory: els alas! lyke to have bene perpetually obscured, or to have bene lyghtly remembred, as uncerteyn shaddows.

Wherfore I, knowing by infynite varyete of bokes, and assyduous reading of them, who hath bene learned, and who hath wrytten from tyme to tyme in this realm, have digested into four bokes the names of them, with their lyves and monuments of learnyng. And to theym added thys tytle, *De Viris illustribus:* following the profytable example of Hierome, Gennadie, Cassiodore, Severian, and Tritemie, a late writer. But alway so handlyng the matter, that I have more expatiated in thys camp, than they did, as in a thyng that desyred to be sumwhat at large, and to have ornature. The first boke, begynnyng at the Druides, is deducted unto the tyme of the comyng of S. Augustyne into England. The second is from the tyme of Augustyne unto the advent of the Normans. The third from the Normans to the end of the most honorable reygn of the myghty, famous, and prudent Prynce Henry VII. your father. The fourth begynneth with the name of your Majesty, whose glory in learning is to the world so clearly known, that though emong the lyves of other learned men, I have accurately celebrated the names of Bladudus, Molmutius, Constantinus Magnus, Sigebertus, Alfridus, Alfridus Magnus, Athelstanus, and

Henry the First, kyngs, and your progenytours; and also Ethelward, second son to Alfride the Great; Humfryd, Duke of Glocester; and Tipetote, Earl of Worcester; yet conferred with your Grace, they seem as smal lyghts (yf I may freely say my judgment, your hygh modesty not offended) in respect of the day star.

Now farther to insinuate to your Grace, of what matters the writers, whose lyves I have congested into four bokes, hath treated of: I may ryghtly say, that besyde the cognycyon of the four tongues, in the which part of them hath excelled, that there is no kynd of lyberal scyence, or any
331 feat concernyng learnyng, in the which they have not shewed certain arguments of great felycite of wyt. Yea, and concernyng the interpretacyon of holy Scripture, both after the auncyent form, and synce the scholastical trade, they have reygned as in a certayn excellency. And as touching historical knowledg, there hath bene to the nombre of a ful hundreth or mo, that from tyme to tyme hath, with great dylygence and no less fayth, wold to God with lyke eloquence, prescribed the acts of your most noble predecessors, and the fortunes of this your realm so incredybly great, that he that hath not seen and throughly redd theyr works, can lytle pronounce in thys part.

Wherfore, after that I had perpended the honest and profytable studyes of these hystoryographers, I was totally enflamed with a love to se throughly al those parts of thys your opulent and ample realm, that I had redd of in the aforesayd wryters. Insomuch that al my other occupacyons intermytted, I have so travayled in your domynyons, both by the sea coasts and the myddle parts, sparyng neyther labour nor costs, by the space of these six years past, that there is almost neyther cape nor bay, haven, creke or pere, ryver or confluence of ryvers, breches, washes, lakes, meres, fenny waters, mountaynes, valleys, mores, hethes, forests, woods, cityes, burghs, castels, pryncypal manor-places, monasteries and colleges, but I have seen them; and noted in so doing a whole world of thyngs very memorable.

Thus instructed, I trust shortly to se the tyme, that like as Carolus Magnus had, among his tresures, thre large and notable tables of silver rychly enamaled, one of the syte and description of Constantynople, another of the syte and figure of the magnificent cyty of Rome, and the thyrd of the descripcion of the world; so shal your Majestie have thys your world and impery of England so set fourth in a quadrate table of sylver, yf God send me lyfe to accomplysh my begynnyng, that your Grace shal have ready knowledg, at the fyrst syght, of many right delectable, fruteful, and necessary pleasures, by contemplacion therof, as often as occasyon shal move you to the syght of it. And because that it may be more permanent and farther known, than to have it engraven in sylver or brass, I entend, by the leave of God, within the space of twelve monthes following, such a descripcion to make of your realm in wryting, that it shal be no mastery after, for the graver or painter to make the lyke by a perfect example.

Yea, and to wade further in thys matter, wheras now almost no man can wel guesse at the shaddow of the auncyent names of havens, ryvers, promontories, hills, woods, cyties, townes, castels, and varyete of kynds of people, that Cesar, Livy, Strabo, Diodorus, Fabius Pictor, Pomponius Mela, Plinius, Cornelius Tacitus, Ptolomeus, Sextus Rufus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Solinus, Antoninus, and dyvers other make mencyon of; I trust to open this wyndow, that the lyght shal be seen, so long, that is to say, by the space of a whole thousand years, stopped up, and the old glory of your renoumed Britaine to reflorish through the world.

This don, I have matter at plenty already prepared to this purpose, that is to say, to wryte an hystory; to the which I entend to adscribe this title, *De Antiquitate Britannica*, or els, *Civilis Historia*. And this work I entend to 332
divide into so many bokes, as there be sheres in England, and shyres and great domynions in Wales. So that I esteme that this volume wyl enclude a fyfty books. Wherof each one severally shal contayn the begynnyngs, encreases, and memorable acts of the chief townes and castels of the provynce allotted to it.

Then I entend to dystrybute into syx bokes such matter as I have already collected, concernyng the isles adjacent to your noble realm, and undre your subjection. Wherof three shal be of these isles, Vecta, Mona, and Menavia, sometime kingdoms.

And to superadd a work as an ornament, and a ryght comely garland, to the entrepryses aforesayd, I have selected stuff to be distributed into three bokes, the which I purpose thus to entytle, *De Nobilitate Britannica*. The fyrst shal declare the names of kings and quenes, with theyr chyldren, dukes, earles, lords, captaynes, and rulers in this realm, to the comyng of the Saxons, and their conquest. The second shal be of the Saxons and Danes, to the victory of Kyng Wylliam the Great. The thyrd from the Normans to the reygn of your most noble Grace, descendyng lyneally of the Brytayn, Saxon, and Norman kings. So that al noblemen shal clerely perceyve theyr lyneal parental.

Now yf it shal be the pleasure of Almyghty God, that I may lyve to perfourm these thyngs that be already begon, and in a great forwardness, I trust that thys your realm shal so wel be known, ones paynted with hys natyve colours, that the renoum therof shal geve place to the glory of no other regyon. And my great labours and costs, procedyng from the most habundaunt fountayn of your infinite goodness towards me, your pore scholar and most humble servaunt, shal be evydently seen to have not onely pleased, but also profyted the studyous, gentyl, and equal reders. This is the brief declaration of my *laborious journey*, taken by mocyon of your Hyghnes, so much studying at al hours about the fruteful preferment of good letters and auncyent vertues.

Christ contynue your most royal estate, and the prosperyte, with succession in kingly dygnyte, of your dere and worthyly beloved son Prynce Edward, grauntyng you a numbre of pryncely sons by the most gracyous, benigne, and modest lady, your Quene Kataryne.

Number CXIX.

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A benevolence granted to the King by the subjects, upon commission to all the counties. 36°. Hen. VIII. ann. 1544.

MSS. D. G. Hicks, Eq. Aur. et Bar.

Counties.	Benevolence.			Counties.	Benevolence.		
Cestr. *cum civit.*	640	6	8	Dorset	1418	3	4
Bedd.	1100	0	0	Surr.	2453	15	2
Buck.	1261	18	8	Sussex	2379	5	2
Bristol	365	11	4	Southt.	1443	0	4
Cant.	1788	14	10	Warr.	1641	16	4
Hunt.	650	13	8	Leic.	629	14	0
Cornub.	643	2	0	Wilts	1769	5	8
Cumbr.	57	15	8	Wigorn	1573	12	0
Devon	4527	2	4	*Civit.* London			
Essex	5251	18	0	Ebor			
Hertf.	680	18	0	Northumbr.			
Glouc.	2528	19	4	Westmerland			
Hereff.	1155	12	8	Dunolm			
Kant	6471	8	0				
Lanc.	660	2	2	WALLIA.			
Lincoln	2176	15	8				
Midd.	2386	9	0	Angless.	195	13	10
Monmouth	233	12	0	Brecon	161	10	8
Northt.	2108	16	4	Cardigan	186	1	4
Nott.	432	2	4	Carmarthen	218	12	4
Derb.	438	9	4	Carnarvon	136	13	0
Norff.	4046	7	0	Denbigh	332	9	11
Suff.	4512	6	1	Flint	163	19	0
Oxon	1241	14	0	Glamorgan	316	13	0
Berk.	1407	2	10	Merioneth	108	16	4
Rutland	136	0	0	Mountgomery	114	11	8
Salop	875	14	4	Radnor	77	13	4
Staff.	464	4	2	Pembr.	341	16	0
Somerset	6807	13	4	Haverfore West	91	0	0
				Sum total,	70723	18	10

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Number CXX.

Catalogus Tractatuum ac Fœderum cum Ferdinando Hispano, cum Cæsare, et Rege Gallo, a Rege Henrico VIII. initorum, seriatim dispositus.

I. *Cum Ferdinando Rege Castellæ.*

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 2do. annoque Dom. 1510.

E Biblioth. Cotton. Caligula, E. 1.

Tractatus pacis et ligæ Ferdinandi Reg. et Joannæ Regin. Castellæ cum Henrico Rege Angliæ. Westmonast.

Confirmatio tractatus ligæ et pacis Reg. Ferdinandi et Reginæ Castellæ. Westm.

Commissio Ferdinandi Reg. Castellæ ad tractand. pacem cum Reg. Hen. VIII. 6. Januarii. Westm.

II. *Cum Cæsare.*

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 2do. annoque Dom. 1510.

Confirmatio tractatus pacis fact. per Cæsarem Maximilianum cum Henr. VIII. Rege Angliæ. Dat. 12. Octobr. Westmon.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 5to. annoque Dom. 1513.

Tractatus pacis et ligæ inter oratores serenissimi Pontificis, Imperatoris, Henr. VIII. Reg. Angliæ, et Regis Hispaniæ conclus. Dat. . . . . . . 1513.

Quoddam fœdus de matrimonio contrahendo inter Carolum Principem Hispaniarum, et Mariam sororem Reg. Henrici, incipiens *Maximilianus*, &c. 15. Nov.

Confirmatio tractatus amicitiæ inter Maximilianum Imperatorem et Henricum VIII.

Acquietantia Maximiliani Imperatoris de receptione 100,000 coronarum auri de Rege Hen. VIII.

Confessio de receptione 3000 coronarum auri per Anthonium Fauconbergh Dnum. de Ligne, 27. Maii.

Quidam tractatus habitus in oppid. insularum, dat. 16. Octobr. incipiens *Nos Margareta*, &c.

Confirmatio tractatus Maximiliani Imperatoris cum Hen. VIII.

Ratificatio certorum articulorum conclusorum inter Maximilianum Imperatorem Romanor. Henric. VIII. et Ferdinand. Reg. Arragoniæ. Dat. London. in castro Bernardi 18. April. 335

Confirmatio tractatus habiti in oppid. insularum die 17. Octob. inter Maximilianum Imperatorem et Regem Angliæ et Regem Arragoniæ. Dat. 17. Octobr.

Juramentum Ludovici Carroze pro parte Ferdinand. Regis Arragoniæ, et Regin. Castelliæ, quod benè et fideliter observabunt tractatum amicitiæ, et singula capitula in eodem tractatu content. cum illustriss. Hen. VIII. Reg. Angliæ. Dat. Lond. in castro Bernardi, 18. Apr.

Anno Regis HENRICI VIII. 13°. annoque Dom. 1521.

Requisitio Caroli Imperatoris Henrico VIII. Reg. Angliæ fact. pro observatione fœderis inter ipsos habit. contra Franciscum Gallorum Regem.

Transumptum tractatus pacis init. et fact. inter Carolum Imperatorem electum, et Francorum Regem, Calisiis 1521. mediante Reverend^{mo}. Dno. Cardinali locumtenente Regis Hen. VIII.

Carolus Quintus Imperator queritur de diversis injuriis sibi illatis per Franciscum Francorum Reg. et rogat villam Fontrabi sibi restitui; alioquin bellum denunciet adversus Gallos; fœdere in hoc jungens cum Hen. VIII. Reg. Angliæ. Dat. 6. Dec.

Commissio pro contrahendis sponsalibus cum Dna. Principissa. Dat. Brug. 15. Aug.

Ratificatio conventionis Dnæ. Margaretæ de dote Dnæ. Principissæ. Dat. 14. Sept.

Instrumentum Cæsaris super conventionem servand. per Dnam. Margaretam factam.

Protestatio Reverend. Dni. Cardinalis de non recedendo a fœdere Bruges fact.

Tractatus Calisiæ fact. per oratores Hen. VIII. et Caroli electi contra Gallorum Regem, et alios, ipsorum dominia detinentes.

Commissio facta Dno. Cardinali ad tractand. de pace et amicitia inter Imperatorem et Franciscum Reg. Franciæ. Dat. London. 29. Julii.

Procuratorium Cæsareæ Majestatis pro tractand. de judiciis. Dat. 6. Decemb.

Non ultra procedunt negotiationes inter Regem Angliæ et Imperatorem in hoc MS.

III. *Cum Galliarum Regibus.*

Anno Regis HENRICI VIII. 1mo. annoque Dom. 1509.

Juramentum Regis Francorum super observationem pacis et amicitiæ.

Juramentum oratorum ejusdem Regis in Anglia super observationem pacis et amicitiæ eodem anno.

336 Anno Regis HENRICI VIII. 2do. annoque Dom. 1510.

Instrumentum submissionis Ludovici Regis Francorum: per quam recognovit se debere Hen. VIII. Reg. Angliæ quod restat insolutum de summa 120,000 coronarum auri de arreragiis debitis Edwardo Reg. quondam Angliæ.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 3o. annoque Dom. 1511.

Receptio 13,000 coronarum Franciæ de Francisco [Ludovico] Rege Francorum solut. Richardo Carewe locumtenent. Villæ Calisiæ, Decemb. 9.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 6to. annoque Dom. 1514.

Juramentum matrimonii contracti per verba de presenti inter Ludovicum Francorum Regem et Dominam Mariam, filiam Hen. VII.

Tractatus matrimonii inter Lodovicum Francorum Regem, et Dnam. Mariam, Hen. VII. filiam contrahend.

Verba matrimonialia signata manu Reg. Francorum inter eum et Dnam. Mariam filiam Hen. VII.

Literæ patentes dotis Reg. Franciæ 8. Octobr.

Confirmatio tractatus matrimonii inter Lodovicum Francorum Reg. et D. Mariam prædict.

Instrumentum juramenti Lodovici Francorum Reg. super observatione tractatus pacis et amicitiæ præstiti.

Tractatus pacis cum Lodovico Francorum Reg. 14. Septembr.

Literæ acquietantiales Lodovici Francorum Reg. super deliberatione Dnæ. Mariæ una cum jocalibus, vasis argenteis, &c. in villa Abbevillæ.

Obligatio oratorum Lodovici Francorum Reg. 7. Aug.

Tractatus amicitiæ inter Lodovicum Francorum Reg. et Hen. VIII. Angliæ Reg. 7. Aug.

Commissio Lodovici Franc. Reg. fact. oratoribus suis pro obligatione fienda.

Juramentum Lodovici Francorum Reg. super observatione tractatus pacis et amicitiæ.

Commissio ad tractandum de pace, 29. Julii.

Commissio Lodovici Francorum Reg. ad contrahendum matrimonium cum Maria sorore Hen. VIII. 19. Julii.

Commissio Lodovici Fran. Reg. ad tractandum et concludend. cum Hen. VIII. super matrimonio contrahendo, 8. Aug.

Obligatio Lodovici Franc. Reg. facta Hen. VIII. pro solutione summæ unius millionis, sive decies centum millium coronarum auri, 14. Sept.

337 Commissio ad tractandum super pacem fact. per Franciscum Francorum Reg. 13. Januarii.

Commissio ad tractandum pro obligatione facienda, 14. Januarii.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 7mo. annoque Dom. 1515.

Confirmatio pacis et amicitiæ per Franciscum Franc. Reg.

Instrumentum publicum super præstationem juramenti Francorum.

Instrumentum submissionis fact. per Franciscum Reg. Francorum pro una millione auri solvend. certis modis et formis.

Obligatio Ludovici [Francisci] Reg. Franc. pro pecunia solvenda, 8. Maii.

Juramentum Reg. Franc. manu sua signatum super observatione amicitiæ.

Intimatio de comprehensione Scotorum, 6. Junii.

Obligatio oratorum Reg. Franciæ pro solutione unius millionis auri.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 10mo. annoque Dom. 1518.

Tractatus matrimonii inter Delphinum et D. Mariam, London. 4. Octob.

Commissio pro sponsalibus contrahend. inter Delphin. et D. Mariam, Andegaven. 31. Julii.

Commissio Francisci Francor. Reg. ad perficiend. sponsalia inter Delphinum et Mariam.

Instrumentum super pollicitatione sponsalium contrahendorum inter Delphin. et Dnam. Mariam.

Confirmatio tractatus matrimonii inter Delphin. et Mariam.

Instrumentum super juramentum matrimonii per Reg. Francor. præstitum, una cum originali eidem annex. manu dicti Franc. Reg. signat.

Commissio Francor. Regis Francisci pro sponsalibus, Angiers.

Instrumentum sponsaliorum.

Ratificatio regis Francorum super tractatu habit. et conclus. cum suis oratoribus de mutuo colloquio habendo int. Reges Angliæ et Franciæ, 21. Dec.

Confirmatio tractatus pro deprædationibus int. Reges Angliæ et Franciæ cohercend.

Tractatus deprædationis, 4. Octobr.

Tractatus mutui interventus, et mutui colloquii utriusque principis.

Juramentum pro observatione tractatus deprædationum una cum originali per Dominum Reg. signatum.

Tractatus amicitiæ et pacis Londini inchoat. cum oratorib. Reg. Angliæ.

Commissio ad liberandum et tradendum certos nobiles Franciæ obsides, 13. Januarii.

Juramentum [instrumentum] super juramento pacis manu Francorum Reg. signat. eidemque annex.

338 Commissio Reg. Francorum de et super mutuo conventu

et colloquio: ac de loco, tempore, modo et forma: et similiter de numero et qualitate personarum.

Instrumentum super juramento per Reg. Francorum præstito super materiis concernentib. Reg. et regnum Scotiæ.

Tractatus et confœderatio generalis pacis et concordiæ int. illustriss. Angliæ et Franciæ Reges, et Romanum Pontificem, pro expeditione in Turcas, Londin.

Confirmatio tractatus pro redditione civitatis Tornacensis cum suis appenden. 16. Dec.

Instrumentum super confessione receptionis civitatis Tornacensis.

Instrumentum super juramento tractatus Tornacen. una cum originali annex. manu Regis Franciæ signat.

Commissio ad tractand. pro liberatione civitatis Tornacen. 31. Julii.

Tractatus Tornacensis.

Articulus comprehensionis Scotorum.

Obligatio facta per Franciscum Francor. Reg. Hen. VIII. pro solutione 60,000 coronarum auri. Parisiis, 12. Januarii.

Commissio Francisci Francor. Reg. ad tractand. de amicitia cum oratoribus Reg. Angliæ, ult. Julii.

Articuli recessus manibus Francor. Reg. subscript. Parisiis, 12. Januarii.

Commissio Francisci Francor. Reg. fact. Gasparo de Coligny Mareschallo Franciæ ad tractand. cum oratoribus Hen. VIII. pro receptione villæ sive civitat. Tornacen.

Commissio Gaspari de Coligny facta Ludovico Proisy Ballio de Tournay ad recipiend. villam civitat. ad castrum de Tournay, Seynt Amande, et Morteigne.

Potestas data per Gasparum de Coligny au Mons. Hodyn, pro deliberatione villæ de Mortayne.

Protestatio facta tempore liberationis villæ de Mortaigne.

Instructions given to the Bishop of Rochester, the Earl of Somerset, Captain of Calais, and other ambassadors, on the behalf of the King of England, to treat with the ambassadours of France.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 11. annoque Dom. 1519

Confirmatio tractatus mutui colloquii Principum apud Guynes.

Commissio et procuratio Francor. Reg. fact. Dno. Wolsey Cardinali de mutuo colloquio et præsentia Dnorum. Regum in campo juxta Guysnes, 10. Januarii.

Commissio Francor. Reg. fact. Dno. Cardinali Ebor. ad tractand. et concludend. cum Hen. VIII. super modo et forma et loco colloquii mutui. Dat. 23. Febr.

339 Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 12. annoque Dom. 1520.

Articuli et capitul. tractatus inter Reges Angliæ et Franciæ una cum schedula annex. jurament. præstit. per dict. Francor. Regem sua propria manu subscript. Dat. 6. Junii.

Literæ Christianiss. Regis Franciæ ad Hen. VIII. de permutatione obsidum, Febr. 4.

Confirmatio Reg. Gallorum fact. super quibusdam articulis tractatus belli offensivi.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 13. annoque Dom. 1521.

Commissio ad Dnum. Cardinalem existen. in villa Calis ad arctiorem amicitiam et firmiorem treugam percutiendam inter Hen. VIII. et Regem Franciæ, 29. Julii.

Commissio fact. Dno. Cardinali locumtenent. in villa Calis de arctiori fœdere concludend. inter Hen. VIII. et Franciscum Reg. Franciæ, 29. Julii.

Commissio fact. Dno. Cardinali ad tractand. de pace et amicitia inter Imperatorem et Franciscum Reg. Franciæ. Dat. Londin. 29. Julii.

Promissio facta per Cæsaream Majestatem, quod non concludet de re aliqua cum Rege Franciæ absque consensu Regis Angliæ et N. Papæ, quousque plenarie conclus. foret de pace et amicitia. Dat. 15. Julii.

Literæ patentes Reg. Gallorum, quibus ostendit illum non solum esse paratum stare arbitrio et judicio Hen. VIII. Reg. Angliæ in compositione de pace inter illum et Regem

Castiliæ; ac etiam de mittendis oratoribus Calet. pro tractand. et concludend. eadem pace. Dat. 1. Julii.

Requisitio facta per Reg. Gallorum pro bello movendo contra Cæsaream Majestatem juxta effectum tractatus Londin. editus contra invasores. Dat. 23. Januarii.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 17. annoque Dom. 1525.

Tractatus deprædat. apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Confirmatio tractatus pro deprædationibus inter Regem Angliæ et Franciæ cohercend.

Confirmatio Francorum Reg. super tractatu deprædationum apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Instrumentum super confessione obligat. duorum millium demsi, 11. Aug.

Tractatus amicitiæ cum Francisco Gallorum Reg. moderno initus.

Juramentum Francisci Francor. Reg. pro observatione tractatus pacis.

Obligatio civitatis Aurelianæ, 3. Maii.

Confirmatio tractatus pro arreragiis solvend. apud Moore.

Literæ Francisci Reg. confirmatoriæ pacis manu sua propria scriptæ.

Confirmatio tractatus obligationis apud Moore fact. per illustrissim. Lodovicum Francorum Reg. 340

Tractatus obligationis pro solutione pecuniarum apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Confirmatio tractatus Lodovicæ tam super dote D. Mariæ Reg. Francor. solvend. quam pro arreragiis ejusdem apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Juramentum oratorum Francorum Reg. super observatione tractat. pacis.

Obligatio Dnæ. Lodovicæ Regentis Franciæ de novis literis obligatoriis per Reg. Francorum conficiendis, Lugduni, 30. Sept.

Obligatio Francor. pro summa duorum millionum coronarum auri de sole. Baione, 17. Martii.

Tractatus pacis et amicitiæ inter Lodovicum Francor. Reg. et Hen. VIII. apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Commissio Dnæ. Lodovicæ Regent. Franciæ pro concipienda obligatione.

Commissio Dnæ. Regentis Franciæ de tractanda pace cum oratorib. Hen. VIII. 9. Junii.

Obligatio Dnæ. Ludovicæ Regentis Franciæ de tractatu pacis per Regem confirmand.

Juramentum Ludovicæ Regentis Franciæ pro observatione tractat. pacis.

Confirmatio tractatus pacis per Dnam. Ludovicam Regent. Franciæ apud Moore fact. Aug. 30.

Confirmatio articuli de Duce Albaniæ per Ludovicam Francor. Regentem.

Tractatus de Duce Albaniæ, quod non intrabit Scotiam, durante minore ætate Regis Scotiæ, 30. Aug.

Obligatio
- Burdugalliæ, 7. Martii.
- Caroli Ducis Vandosme, 29. Septembr.
- Caroli Comitis Brienne, 1. Octobr.
- Ludovici Comit. de malo Lepărario, 1. Octob.
- Ducis Longaville, 17. Septemb.
- Comitis S. Pauli.
- Dom. Laurentii, 28. Sept.
- Civitatis Rothomagen. 7. Martii.
- Civitat. Lugdunensis, 20. Oct.
- Civitat. Rhemensis, 5. Novembr.

Confirmatio per Dnam. Ludovicam qualificationis articuli comprehensionis Reg. Scotorum, 30. Aug.

Confirmatio tractatus declarationis alternativæ, et quonam pacto Rex noster contribuet pro bello inferendo contra Cæsarem. In quo et confirmatur tractatus obligationum duorum millionum, 30. Aug.

Tractatus de Douagerio Dnæ. Mariæ apud Moore, 30. Aug.

Obligatio
- Civitat. Tholosæ, 3. Octobr.
- Cardinalis Burboniæ, 26. Sept.
- Civitat. Ambianensis, 3. Nov.
- Civitat. Parisiensis, 24. Januar.
- Civitat. Turonensis, 7. Martii.
- Dni. de Montmorentio, 6. Sept.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 18. annoque Dom. 1526. 341

Tractatus reciprocæ obligationis Francorum Regis, 8. Aug.

Confirmatio tractat. reciprocæ obligationis Francor. Regis, 20. Aug.

Commissio pro tractatu mutuæ et reciprocæ obligationis, 2. Junii.

Confirmatio Regis Gallorum super tractatu pacis factæ inter oratores Regentis Franciæ et Hen. VIII. 15. Apr.

Commissio Francisci Francor. Reg. pro tradendis et recipiendis literis confirmatoriis pacis et amicitiæ ac obligationum, 2. April.

Confirmatio tractat concernen. Ducem Albaniæ, 15. Apr.

Instrumentum super præstationem juramenti per Reg. Gallorum pro observatione tractatus pacis.

Literæ patentes Francisci Francor. Reg. super qualificatione comprehensionis Jacobi Reg. Scotorum, 15. Apr.

Anno Reg. HENRICI VIII. 19. annoque Dom. 1527.

Tractatus belli offensivi inter Angliam et Franciam pro redemptione filiorum Reg. Gallorum, 30. April.

Tractatus arctioris conjunctionis inter Regem Angliæ et Franciæ, Westmonast. habit.

Confirmatio tractat. pacis et amicitiæ, Ambiani, 18. Aug.

Tractatus perpetuæ pacis habit. Westmonast. inter Reg. Angliæ et Franciæ, Apr. 30.

Tractatus continuationis belli contra Flandros, 9. Maii.

Confirmatio	Tractatus belli offensivi, Paris. 8. Junii.
	Tractatus arctioris commutationis, Paris. 8. Junii.
	Tractat. perpetuæ pacis, 18. Aug.
	Tractat. de generali concilio non indicendo.
	Tractat. propter privilegia mercatorum Anglorum in regno Franciæ, 18. Aug.
Commissio	Francisci Francor. Reg. ad tractand. pro bello Flandriæ per aliqua tempora supersedenda, et pecuniam quam ibi expositurus erat alibi exponend.

Commissio
- Regis Christianissimi ad tractand. de modo et forma gerendi bellum contra Cæsarem.
- Regis Francor. pro libertatibus et privilegiis mercatorum Angliæ concedend.
- Ad communicand. et concludend. de privilegiis Anglis mercatorib. concedend. Dat. Compendii, 25. Sept.
- Pro tractat. arctioris commutationis, et aliis tractatibus, 3. Apr.

Juramentum Reg. Gallorum super observatione quorundam tractatuum, viz. tractat. arctioris commutationis, et belli offensivi, Paris.

342 Juramentum per Reg. Gallorum præstitum super observatione tractat. perpetuæ pacis, 15. Aug.

Instrumentum juramentorum Francor. Regis et reverendiss. Dni. Cardinalis Ambiani præstiti. Dat. Ambiani, 18. Aug.

Instrumentum act. nostri juramento per Reg. Gallorum præstito, Parisiis, 9. Junii.

Commissio ad vidend. jurament. præstit. de fœdere perpetuæ pacis observandæ, et ad tradend. ratificationem ejusdem, 25. Sept.

Articulus de relatione tractatuum. Westmonaster. 30. Apr.

Acquietatio Anthonii et Joannis de Cavelerei pro portione 60,000*l.* 17. Sept.

One acquittance of 64,444 crowns of the sun contributed for the wars in Italy, for the months of Novemb. and Decemb.

Tractatus pacis et amicitiæ habitus inter Franciscum, et Hen. VIII. Dat. Ambiani, 18. Aug. sub sigillo aureo, et remanet adhuc in una cista in inferiori thesauria infra abbatiam Westm.

Commissio ad incarceratos deliberandos, 19. Julii.

Commissio in qua Cardinalis Ebor. fit locumtenens regius: cui datur potestas conveniendi et concludendi pacem et amicitiam cum Rege Franciæ, Cæsare, et Venetis, 18. Julii.

Commissio Hen. VIII. facta Dno. Cardinali ad tractand. super quocumque fœdere cum Francorum Rege, cum Venetis, pro resarcienda Romanæ sedis dignitate, 18. Junii.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 20. annoque Dom. 1528.

Commissio Regis Christianiss. pro quietantia dand. 22. Octob.

Confirmatio induciarum Reg. Christianiss. Parisiis, 23. Junii.

Confirmatio tractatus commutationis a partib. Flandriæ in Italiam.

Commissio Archiducissæ Austriæ fact. Dominico de Mendoza, Episcopo de Burges, Gulielmo de Barras a Secretis ejusdem Margaretæ, ad tractand. et concludend. tam cum Francor. Rege quam Hen. Octavo de abstinentia guerræ inter dictos principes, 12. Maii.

Commissio Hen. VIII. facta Thomæ Cardin. Ebor. ad tractand. cum oratoribus Francor. Regis, de abstinentia guerræ, 19. Maii.

Tractatus pacis et amicitiæ factus et conclus. per oratores Francor. Regis, et Hen. VIII. 19. Maii.

Conclusio pacis et amicitiæ inter Reg. Angliæ, Franciæ, et Imperatorem, fact. per Joannem de Bellay, Episcop. Baion. ambassiatorem Francorum Reg. 12. Maii.

The copy of the French King's treaty, with one other writing. In the same box.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 21. annoque Dom. 1529.

Instrumentum quoddam super traditione cujusdam monilis, sive jocalis Francisci Reg. Francor. in speciem floreni Lillii, fact. pro summa 444,000 coronarum auri de sole, Maximiliano [Carolo] pignori. Dat. Lond. 18. Februar.

Instrumentum Francisci Francor. Reg. Hen. VIII. fact. 343
de restituendo monili, sive jocali, aureo, si Imperator Carolus denegaverit deliberationem liberorum dict. Francisci intra spacium semestre.

Tractatus inter oratores Francisci Francorum Regis et Hen. VIII. de recipiendo dicto Francisco sufficientes obligationes pro solutione 50,000 coronarum de sole: unde conjunctim cum oratorib. prædict. Hen. VIII. constituit Cuthbertum Episc. Londonensem ad recipiend. obligationes. Dat. 18. Februar.

Commissio pro sale singulis annis juxta conventum in ea parte præstand. de dat. 30. Januar.

Commissio Francisci Francor. Reg. fact. Wilhelmo de Bellay cubiculario suo et Johanni Joachim œconomo suo, ad tractand. cum Hen. VIII. pro relaxatione ejusdem pensionis 47,368 coronarum auri solis debit. mensibus Maio et Novembri, 29. Januar.

Tractatus pro debita solutione annuæ pensionis salis, 18. Febr.

Obligatio Francisci Reg. Francorum pro solutione 552,000 coronarum, casu quo perpetua pax ex parte dict. Regis non observetur, 29. Jan.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 22. annoque Dom. 1530.

Commissio ad tractand. de commutatione salis in annuam nummariam solutionem, Burdugalliæ, 16. Junii.

Instrumentum acquietationis Caroli Imperatoris per Hen. VIII. fact. de 10,000*l.* si idem Imperator deliberaverit filios Regis Franciæ, et non aliter, 30. Junii.

Tractatus commutationis salis in nummariam annuam solutionem, Dec. 2.

Confirmatio tractat. commutationis pensionis salis in nummariam solutionem.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 24. annoque Dom. 1532.

Commissio ad petendum literas confirmatorias tractatus ad mutuam dignitatem regnorum, subditorum et rerum omnium utriusque principis defensionem et conservationem conclus. et similes literas confirmatorias tradendas et deliberandas. Dat. 4. Julii.

Tractatus arctioris commutationis. Lond. 23. Junii.

Confirmatio tractatus arctioris commutationis, Vilocherin.

Pactum inter utrumque principem conclus. pro bello contra Turcam inferendo, Caleti, 28. Octob.

Qualificatio expensarum pro bello inferendo contra Turcam. Caleti.

Anno Reg. HENR. VIII. 38. annoque Dom. 1546.

Commissio Francorum Regis ad tractand. cum Hen. VIII. super perpetua pace et amicitia, 21. Apr.

Commissio ad petend. literas confirmatorias tractat. perpetuæ pacis ex parte Angliæ Reg. tradi, et ad tradend. et deliberand. literas confirmatorias ejusdem tractatus ex parte Regis Franciæ. 344

Commissio Francor. Regis ad recipiend. juramentum Reg. Angliæ super observatione perpetuæ pacis.

Commissio ad prorogandum præstationem juramenti in longiorem terminum. Dat. 8. Julii.

Tractatus perpetuæ pacis et amicitiæ, Junii 7.

Confirmatio tractatus perpetuæ amicitiæ et pacis.

Literæ patentes oratoris Christianiss. Regis, quibus apparet dict. oratorem fateri se recepisse literas confirmatorias perpetuæ pacis 7. Junii, conclus. sub magno sigillo, et manu Reg. Angliæ signat. Dat. London. 17. Junii.

Conventio et concordatio, ut dies ad requirend. juramentum pro observatione tractat. perpetuæ pacis 7. Junii 1546. præstand. per utrumque principem limitatus, ad viginti amplius dies prorogetur, London. 17. Julii.

Commissio ad petend. pecunias debitas D. Hen. VIII. Reg. Angliæ pro redemptione Joannis olim Francorum Reg.

Instrumentum autenticum super juramento præstito per Francorum Reg. de observatione tractat. perpetuæ pacis et amicitiæ, de dat. 7. Junii.

Juramentum Francor. Reg. pro observatione tractat. pacis perpetuæ et amicitiæ.

THE END OF THE APPENDIX.

A

TABLE

OF

ORIGINAL LETTERS, RECORDS, AND OTHER WRITINGS,

APPERTAINING TO THE

ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORIALS,

IN THE TIME OF

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Number I. KING Henry's letter to Sir David Owen, to provide an hundred men to go into France with him, in behalf of the Pope against the French King.

Number II. King Henry to his ambassador in Flanders, Dr. Knight, in behalf of Thomas Barnaby, merchant.

Number III. King Henry to his ambassadors, Sir Edward Ponyngs and Mr. William Knight, with the Prince of Castile, for satisfaction to be demanded for staying of a merchantman, put in by stress of weather into Zealand.

Number IV. The constables of Tournay, being the yeomen of the King's guard there, to Cardinal Wolsey and the Privy Council; certifying the great hardships and inconveniences they must undergo, if, according to a late order, their wages should be altered from quarterly to half-yearly payments.

Number V. Sir Richard Jernegan, Lord Deputy of Tournay, and the Council there; their letter to the Cardinal, accompanying the former, written by the constables.

Number VI. The Lord Mountjoy, and the Council at Tournay, to Cardinal Wolsey; upon his information of an enterprise intended against that place.

Number VII. A private combination of France, Denmark, and Scotland, of invading England, and attacking Tournay; discovered to Sir Richard Jernegan, the King's lieutenant there, by one Henry Cossene, a spy of the Cardinal's in the French Court: being part of a letter from the said Sir Richard to the Cardinal.

Number VIII. The Chapter of the Church of Tournay to their Bishop, the Cardinal; acknowledging their thankfulness to him for procuring them the King's patent, confirming all their former liberties; and begging his patronage.

Number IX. A commission of Cardinal Wolsey to the Bishops; to require all Luther's books to be brought in and delivered up to them from all persons whatsoever: and they to send them to him.

Number X. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, to the Cardinal; upon his purpose of reforming the *ecclesiastics* and *religious* in both provinces. For which he sheweth an earnest desire, as highly necessary.

Number XI. Richard Pace, the King's ambassador, to the Emperor, from his camp in Italy; concerning the state of his army there against the French. Wrote to the King's Highness.

Number XII. Cardinal Wolsey to Mr. Secretary Pace, the King's ambassador in Italy; to treat with the Venetians to aid the Emperor against the French; attempting to recover Milain and Naples.

Number XIII. Instructions by the King for Mr. Pace, sent to the state of Venice.

Number XIV. The Bishop of Bath and Sir Anthony Browne to the Cardinal, from Paris; concerning the Cardinal's embassy to the French King, and about meeting him at Amiens.

Number XV. William, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Wolsey; in behalf of his jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court, which the Cardinal's officers assumed.

Number XVI. Another letter from the said Archbishop to the said Cardinal, of the same import.

Number XVII. The confession of John Tybal, a Lollard; charged with heresy.

Number XVIII. The abjuration of Thomas Bowgas, before Tonstal Bishop of London.

Number XIX. The abjuration of William Bocher.

Number XX. The confession of Robert Hempsted.

Number XXI. The confession of Thomas Hempsted.

Number XXII. The confession of Robert Necton, who bought and sold New Testaments in English.

Number XXIII. Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Dr. Gardiner, and Dr. Fox, the King's ambassadors with the Pope, to Cardinal Wolsey. From Orviet.

Number XXIV. Dr. Gardiner, Dr. Fox, and Sir Gregory de Cassalis, the King's ambassadors, unto the Cardinal. From Orviet.

Number XXV. Dr. Gardiner and Sir Gregory de Cassalis, ambassadors with the Pope, to Cardinal Wolsey.

Number XXVI. Dr. Fox to Dr. Gardiner; giving him a relation of his reception at Court, upon his return from his embassy.

Number XXVII. A note of such records concerning the divorce of King Henry VIII. from Queen Katharine Dowager; remaining in the custody of the Lord Treasurer and the Chamberlains of the Exchequer. Found among the MSS. of the Lord Treasurer Burghley.

Number XXVIII. The names of al such parsonages as bene to be impropried unto Cardinal college in the University of Oxford.

Number XXIX. Here follow the monasteries, layd to the Cardinal college: together with the counties where each lay, their founders, and values spiritual and temporal: the spiritualls in many places being neer the value of the temporalls.

Number XXX. Edmund, Abbot of York, to Cardinal Wolsey; to spare the priory of Romeburgh: promising to give him ccc mark toward his college and school.

Number XXXI. Cardinal Wolsey to Secretary Gardiner; to inform him of the King's consultation concerning him.

Number XXXII. The Cardinal to the said Secretary; to draw up his pardon, granted by the King.

Number XXXIII. The Cardinal to the said Secretary; praying him to favour the cause of the Provost of Beverly; and to intercede with the King for him for his colleges, especially that at Oxford. Dated from Southwell.

Number XXXIV. The Cardinal to the Secretary; to be his friend in a suit with Mr. Strangwish, for 700*l.* which the Cardinal owed him. Written from Southwel.

Number XXXV. Thomas Cardinalis Eboracen. &c. Gypsuichianæ scholæ præceptoribus, &c. S. D.

Number XXXVI. Queen Elizabeth to Sir Ambrose Cave; to inquire into an estate taken away from one Heydon by Cardinal Wolsey. The letter dated June 22d, 1568.

Number XXXVII. The beads on the Sunday, as anciently used.

Number XXXVIII. A book against the King's matrimony with Queen Katharine, under this question, *An liceat cuiquam ducere uxorem fratris sui vita defuncti absque liberis?*

Number XXXIX. A confutation of Abel's book, wrote against the divorce of Queen Katharine.

Number XL. Dr. Croke to the King, concerning his agency in Italy. From Venice.

Number XLI. An address from the Convocation to the King, for an act to take away annates, exacted by the Court of Rome.

Number XLII. Dr. Samson's Latin oration, against the Pope's proud primacy and arrogant authority.

Number XLIII. A letter written by Hugh Latymer to Hubbardine; who had preached against the *new learning*.

Number XLIV. An old Popish song, made in abuse of Latymer.

Number XLV. A Popish discourse of Antichrist.

Number XLVI. The general sentence, or curse: used to be read to the people four times in the year. Taken out of the Festival, printed by Wynkin de Worde, 1532.

Number XLVII. A letter of one Friar Laurence, written to Crumwel, concerning the divorce; and the favour of some friars at Greenwich to Queen Katharine's cause.

Number XLVIII. Sir Thomas More to Secretary Crumwel; excusing his communication with, and letter wrote to, the Nun of Kent, &c.

Number XLIX. Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, to Secretary Crumwel; in answer to orders sent him for preaching the King's supremacy.

Number L. Robert, Bishop of Chichester, to Secretary Crumwel; upon the same argument.

Number LI. John, Bishop of Lincoln, to Mr. Crumwel; of the same matter.

Number LII. Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, to Mr. Crumwel; concerning his preaching the King's supremacy.

Number LIII. The King's letter to the Earl of Sussex; to seize such as preached up the Pope's authority in England.

Number LIV. The King's letters to the Justices of peace; to further the King's cause of the supremacy.

Number LV. Thomas Bedyl to the King's visitors; when he sent them his emendations of a book for preaching and declaring the King's power.

Number LVI. Crumwel's letter to certain monasteries, that feared the King would force them to surrender: assuring them of their continuance, upon their suitable behaviour according to their institution. And to apprehend such as should report the contrary.

Number LVII. Legh and Ap Rice to Secretary Crumwel; concerning the inhibitions of Bishops.

Number LVIII. Some additions to the injunctions for the University of Cambridge, prepared by the King's visitors.

Number LIX. The Bishop of Durham to Secretary Crumwel; concerning a commission sent him for taking the valuation of livings.

Number LX. Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, to the King; being under his displeasure.

Number LXI. Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, to Crumwel, Vicar General; upon the said Bishop's inhibiting a monk of Reading to read lectures any more in the monastery: whose cause the said Vicar General had called from the said Bishop to himself.

Number LXII. Sir Thomas Eliot, to Secretary Crumwel; concerning his sending in seditious books of the Bishop of Rome's authority; according to a proclamation.

Number LXIII. Ambassiate and declaration of K. Henry VIII. to James V. King of Scots; concerning the supremacy, &c. exciting that King to cast off Popery, and to vindicate his own authority from the encroachments of Rome.

Number LXIV. The proposals, called the Petitions, of John Frederic, Duke of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; given to the King's ambassadors, in order to a league.

Number LXV. The opinion of Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, concerning the articles presented to the King's Highness by the princes of Germany.

Number LXVI. The answer of the King's ambassadors, made to the Duke of Saxony, and Landgrave of Hesse.

Number LXVII. The Council to Secretary Crumwel; giving orders for the despatching certain persons into Germany and France.

Number LXVIII. Secretary Crumwel's letter to Sir John Wallop, the King's ambassador in France. Directing him in what manner to justify the King in the divorce, and in the execution of some persons denying the supremacy.

Number LXIX. The last will and testament of Katharine Princess Dowager.

Number LXX. Ryche, the King's solicitor, to the King; his advice concerning taking possession of the goods and jewels of Katharine Princess Dowager, deceased.

Number LXXI. The Lady Bryan, governess to the Lady Elizabeth, her letter to the Lord Crumwel, from Hunsdon; for instructions concerning the said lady's household and table, after the death of Queen Anne her mother.

Number LXXII. Sir Richard Morrison to the Lord Crumwel; concerning printing the King's answer to the Pope's calling of a Council at Mantua.

Number LXXIII. The protestation of the Clergy of the Lower House within the province of Canterbury: with declaration of fautes and abuses which heretofore hath and now be within the same, worthy special reformation.

Number LXXIV. The opinion of the Clergy of the north parts in Convocation, upon ten articles sent to them.

Number LXXV. Articles for the Lady Mary; to answer and subscribe.

Number LXXVI. A memorial of such articles as were communed and treated of between the King's Highness Counsellors and Mons^{r}. de Tarbes, and Mons^{r}. Pomeray, the French ambassadors; concerning the marriage between the Lady Mary, the King's daughter, and the Duke of Orleans.

Number LXXVII. Roland, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and Lord President of the marches of Wales, to the Lord Crumwel; upon his letter to the said Bishop, to take care of the Welsh men. With articles sent to him against the Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Barlow.

Number LXXVIII. Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, to the Lord Crumwel; concerning a book taken at Newcastle, called *Ortulus Animæ.*

Number LXXIX. Instructions for the Lord Privy Seal; being a letter to him concerning the Bishop of Lincoln and his Archdeacon, touching the Bishop's demand for prestations.

Number LXXX. Starky to Pole; for his answer to two points relating to the King's cause.

Number LXXXI. Starky to Pole; expostulating with him for his book against the King.

Number LXXXII. Mr. Pole to the King; who had commanded him home to explain his book.

Number LXXXIII. Pole to the Bishop of Durham; in answer to that Bishop's former letter to him.

Number LXXXIV. Pole, now Cardinal, to the Lord Crumwel, upon his attainder and retirement out of France into Cambray.

Number LXXXV. Lee, Archbishop of York, to Crumwel, Lord Privy Seal; concerning Friars, preachers in his diocese.

Number LXXXVI. The University of Cambridge, their congratulatory letter to the King.

Number LXXXVII. The University of Oxford, their congratulatory letter to the King.

Number LXXXVIII. The judgments of divers Bishops and Doctors in commission, concerning confirmation, under three questions.

Number LXXXIX. Humphrey Monmouth, citizen of London, committed to the Tower for suspicion of heresy, and for some books of Tyndal found in his house: his petition to the King's Council.

Number XC. The testament and last wil of Mayster Humphray Monmouth, late citezin and alderman of London.

Number XCI. A brief and short instruction given the Curates and Clergy of the diocese of Chichester, by Richard Sampson, Bishop of the same.

Number XCII. Richard, Bishop of Chichester, to the Lord

Crumwel; upon an offence taken against him for a sermon preached at Chichester.

Number XCIII. The same, to the same; concerning the Bishops of Durham, London, and Winchester, their conferences with him, concerning traditions: from the Tower.

Number XCIV. Philippus Melancthon ad Regem Henricum VIII. propria manu.

Number XCV. Frederichus Myconius ad D. Thomam Crumwellium.

Number XCVI. Literarum Oratorum Germaniæ brevis summa, Anglice. Their judgment concerning abuses.

Number XCVII. Certain Bishops' judgments concerning pilgrimages.

Number XCVIII. Purgatorium. Latymer, Bishop of Worcester, his judgment thereof: with annotations in the margin of King Henry's own hand.

Number XCIX. King Henry VIII's confutation (writ by his own hand) of the sense of two places of Scripture, alleged against purgatory, in the former writing.

Number C. Some short notes drawn up by King Henry's own pen; concerning priests' marriage.

Number CI. Philippus Melancthon ad Regem Henricum VIII. Mar. 26, anno 1539, Francofurti.

Number CII. Phil. Melancthon ad Regem Henricum, 10. April 1539.

Number CIII. The Duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, to the King; concerning those matters which Christopher Mount and Thomas Paynel, the King's messengers, related to them by the King's command.

Number CIV. The Lord Crumwel to the King; upon the coming of some ambassadors from the Protestant Princes of Germany.

Number CV. Erasmus Sarcerius ad Regem Henricum.

Number CVI. Places appointed for the new intended Bishops' seats: being of King Henry's own handwriting.

Number CVII. A table drawn up in order to the founding new deaneries and colleges in divers places: with the endowments of the Bishops of the respective sees.

Number CVIII. Dr. Heynes to a certain courtier; concerning the bill of the Six Articles.

Number CIX. A Book of Ceremonies.

Number CX. A Proclamation for an uniformity in religion; and about reading the Bible in English: with the King's own emendations of this draught of it.

Number CXI. The Elector of Saxony's letter to the King, upon his marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

Number CXII. Quidam Doctrinæ Christianæ Articuli, pro Ecclesia Anglicana. With some notes of the King's hand in the margin.

Number CXIII. The King's commission to the Convocation; to examine the validity of his marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves. Anno regni Reg. 32.

Number CXIV. The depositions of divers of the noblemen, and others, before the Convocation; concerning the King's marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves.

Number CXV. Robert Wisdome, a prisoner in Lollard's Tower; his vindication of himself against certain articles charged upon him.

Number CXVI. Edicta Stephani Vintoniensis Episcopi, Cancellarii Cantabrigiensis, de Pronuntiatione Linguæ Græcæ et Latinæ.

Number CXVII. Stephen, Lord Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, to Dr. Edmunds, his Vice-Chancellor; reproving the University's neglect in observing Lent, and requiring the observation of the order for pronouncing Greek.

Number CXVIII. John Leland's new-year's gift to King Henry, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

Number CXIX. A benevolence granted to the King by the subjects, upon commission to all the counties. An. 36°. Henry VIII.

Number CXX. Catalogus Tractatuum ac Fœderum cum Ferdinando Hispano, cum Cæsare, et Rege Gallo, a Rege Henrico VIII. initorum, seriatim dispositus.